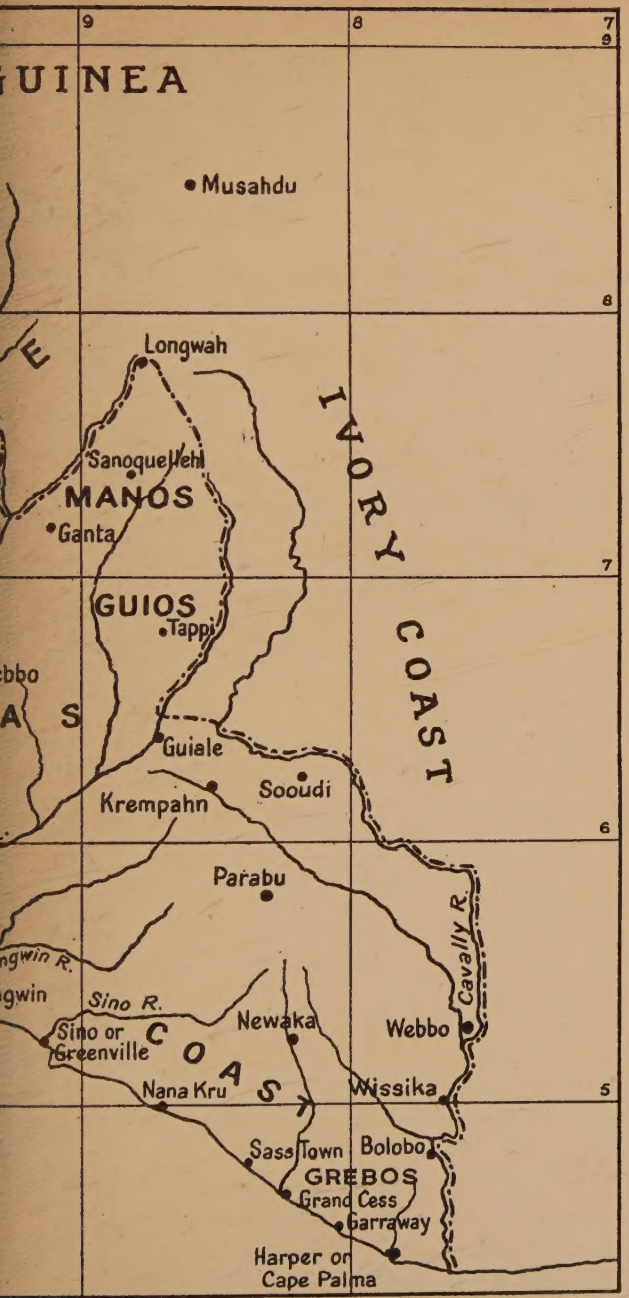
LIBERIA
OLD AND NEW

JAMES L. SIBLEY

D. WESTERMANN

FRENCH
SIERRA LEONE
Vonjama
GIZIS
Kolohun
Masambolahun
Pamde
Pendembu
GBANDES
Jenne
MENDES
Galena
BUZIS
Looma
Morra R.
Belyela
GOLA
Loffa R.
Boporu
Balomah
VAIS
St. Paul R.
Sanoghle
Cape Mount
Dukwia R.
Muhlenberg
Careysburg
Duport
Roysville
White Plains
BASS
St. John or
Johnsonsville
Mouth of St. Paul R.
MONROVIA
Marshall
Grand Bassa
River
Baffa
LIBERIA
0 10 20 30 40 50 M
Showing approximate Boundaries and Locations of important Rivers & Towns.


9
8
7
GUINEA
Musahdu
8
Longwah
IVORY COAST
Sanoquelleh
MANOS
Ganta
7
GUIOS
Tappi
Guiale
Krempahn
Sooudi
6
Parabu
Cavally R.
Sino R.
Sino or Greenville
COAST
Newaka
Webbo
Nana Kru
Wissika
5
Sass Town
Bolobo
GREBOS
Grand Cess
Garraway
Harper or Cape Palma

LIBERIA—OLD AND NEW

VIEW OF MONROVIA FROM LIGHTHOUSE HILL
The first colonists landed on the small island in the St. Paul River

LIBERIA—OLD AND NEW

A Study of Its Social and Economic Background with Possibilities of Development

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AND

D. WESTERMANN

PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
5830

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FIRST EDITION

To the Memory of
EBEN CHARLES SAGE

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

PREFACE

About three years ago I was asked to visit Liberia to investigate conditions on behalf of the American Advisory Committee on Education, a group representing a number of philanthropic, educational and church organizations interested in work in that country. The purpose was to secure information on the educational, social and economic situation as a basis for the readjustment of school work.

After submitting my report there was a considerable demand for the information contained therein from a wider group than those who were originally interested in educational problems, and it was suggested that the material be put into more available form in the shape of a book. This volume has been prepared in response to this desire, and may afford a background for judging present conditions and future developments in the little republic.

About the time of my visit I learned of the work of Dr. D. Westermann, of the University of Berlin, now one of the Directors of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, who had spent many years on the West Coast of Africa, and who had made an extended visit to Liberia some time before. Dr. Westermann agreed to contribute material dealing with native customs and ethnic backgrounds of the group of people designated collectively as the Kpelle, who occupy the central area

beginning a short distance inland from Monrovia and stretching back to the borders of French Guinea and the Ivory Coast. As this group represents a fusion between the Mandingo stock in the northwest and the Kru stock in the southeast, it was felt that an intimate study of their life would furnish a representative cross-section of the entire native population. Part of the anthropological information appearing in this book is based upon Dr. Westermann's former volume entitled "Die Kpelle," issued in Germany a few years ago.

Chapters V to IX contain Dr. Westermann's scientific investigations almost exclusively. But during my stay I made two extended trips into the same country, and have been able to supplement his valuable observations by a few notes relative to the changes which have taken place since his visit. I have also added the photographs illustrating native life in this and other portions of the country.

Chapters X and XI contain a statement of educational conditions together with recommendations suggested for improvements possible in educational administration. The final chapter offers a summary of conditions in the country at the present time, and a brief statement of the general outlook.

No apology is made for the apparently disproportionate amount of space devoted to the discussion of educational conditions. Both of us are deeply interested in educational problems; and Liberia is a practical experiment in self-government, whose future depends upon the success with which it is able to adjust itself, through a proper system of educa-

tion, to the changing economic and social conditions of the country.

Acknowledgment is hereby made to the authors whose works appear in the bibliography at the end of the book. Use has been made of their writings to supplement personal observations. It has sometimes been impossible to give credit for individual citations, as they appear in the volume. Many of the books are now out of print, and can only be found in public libraries or private collections.

Grateful acknowledgment is also made to Miss G. A. Gollock for reading the manuscript and giving many valuable suggestions. Owing to my return to Africa, it has been necessary to leave to the publishers the task of reading the final proofs of the book.

J. L. S.

London.

EVANGELICAL SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

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EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

LIBERIA—OLD AND NEW

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

WHY INTEREST IN LIBERIA?

LIBERIA occupies a unique position in the sisterhood of states. It was founded as an American colony upon the shores of West Africa more than a hundred years ago. It later acquired its independence and has succeeded in maintaining its government with some degree of stability ever since. It is the only government maintained upon a democratic basis by black people in all Africa. For a long time its existence was rather precarious, but in more recent years it has emerged upon a firmer basis with due recognition of its sovereign rights by all the powers, and as the result of events connected with the World War, is now a member of the League of Nations.

The Treaty of Versailles merely confirmed Europe in its possession of Africa. The Continent had already been parceled out among the powers after the Treaty of Berlin in 1885. Great Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal own most of the territory as colonies or protectorates. The former German territories are mandated areas, administered largely

by England and France. Egypt is at present a quasi-independent state, Great Britain being the chief factor in its external relations. Only Abyssinia and Liberia remain. Both have been admitted to the League of Nations, the former as a monarchy, the latter as a self-governing republic.

We may look in the future to the little republic on the West Coast to demonstrate the possibility of black people governing themselves along the lines generally accepted by Western nations. To those who have faith in Africa, and in the black man's capacity for self-government, this experiment is fraught with great interest. To make possible its fulfillment is worth all the sacrifices that may be involved. Especially in America should the career of Liberia be followed with sympathy and encouragement, for Liberia is, first of all, a child of America.

The struggles of this little country since the American Civil War long received scant attention in the West, other than through missionary endeavor. Liberia was in danger of being swallowed up by powerful neighbors until, in 1909, after a direct appeal to America, President Taft sent a commission to visit the country, as a result of which genuine interest was aroused and Liberian independence preserved.

In recent years, the tropics have come to be regarded as the sources of valuable raw materials needed by European nations for their manufacture and their trade. Sugar, coffee, cocoa, rubber, oil and minerals are obtained in large quantities from

tropical portions of the globe, and Africa, being nearest to Europe, has resources which none of the great powers is going to overlook. America, too, is in need of raw materials, and within recent years has been forced to look to tropical sources for adequate supplies. The growing demand for rubber has taken men to the Philippines and to Africa, and within the past few years an agreement with the Liberian Government has given a large American rubber company a valuable concession. This development will have important bearings upon the national life of Liberia and upon American interests in other portions of the world.

In this American rubber concession, therefore, the Company has an opportunity of establishing a new policy in the economic development of the continent, and in the relations between white people and black people in different parts of the world. The general plans which the Company carries out in its developmental work will be watched with interest. The Company is in Liberia for economic reasons, its first purpose being to produce rubber at a profit. Unless this proves possible, Liberia will not be able to compete with other portions of the globe; and unless the enterprise is a paying success the Company cannot undertake any general welfare program for the benefit of its employees.

Philanthropy cannot take the place of sound business; where the latter has, in colonial enterprises, been subordinated to the former, the undertaking has met with disaster.

On the other hand the Company will gain and not

lose by paying suitable wages, and by employing officials who have a sense of responsibility for the general welfare of their employees, and an appreciation of the relations which the general policies of their company bear to the whole problem of native welfare.

The advent of reputable capital into Liberia and other tropical countries should be welcomed. It is noteworthy that those countries which are classed in present-day history as backward—in education, health or general welfare—are also backward economically. A supply of capital therefore, for legitimate development but not for exploitation, is the first step in a general movement of advance and will bring revenues to make possible health and welfare work.

Highways and harbors, the development of health programs and of education,—all depend upon revenues. These can only be obtained where labor finds employment, where agriculture is upon a sound basis and trade and commerce flourish. This does not mean that governments must necessarily sell out to big business. Many—though not all—of the agricultural and commercial projects in tropical countries require large scale capital for development owing to the risks involved and the amount of capital required to engage in business upon a paying basis.

EARLY BEGINNINGS

Liberia represents America's only attempt at overseas colonization. Its inception grew out of

the institution of slavery, and an endeavor on the part of early statesmen and philanthropists to solve a vexing situation in America. It was recognized by Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and other early compatriots, that slavery in a republic dedicated to the principles of freedom was an anachronism. Much discussion and pamphleteering took place in the period of the formation of the Union and the adoption of the American Constitution. Connected with these discussions, we find the names of Jefferson, Clay, Madison, Randolph and others. The problem attracted the interest of men from both the South and the North.

One of the difficulties in the emancipation of the slaves was the problem of where to place them should they be given their freedom. Colonization seems to have been the most popular solution which presented itself to the early leaders. It does not seem to have been the opinion of any of them—from Jefferson to Lincoln—that the Negro would eventually become a part of the American democracy. The two men who did the most thinking on the question of slavery—Jefferson and Lincoln—both had colonization in mind.

Freed slaves were found in many American communities. Some obtained their freedom by their own efforts, being allowed to purchase their liberty from their masters. Some were set free upon the death of their owners. There was often a superior group, who through personal worth and strength of character had acquired their freedom. Many became

small tradesmen and free laborers. Some owned slaves themselves.

Another group of freed men was less fortunate. Lacking experience and strength of character, they fell into vice and shiftlessness, committing petty thefts, and generally being known as a nuisance in the community. Their lack of restraint was a source of annoyance to the people of the community, and unfortunately their example and lot were seized upon by the opponents of emancipation, or by honest doubters, and held up as a warning of what might be expected should the whole body of slaves be given their freedom.

In the first quarter of the last century, however, the forces for emancipation were strong, and a movement for emancipation and colonization received considerable support from Southern leaders. In this they had the support of many Northern sympathizers. The motives back of colonization were mixed. Some wanted to see the United States rid of the problem of slavery. They thought it only just to enable the black man to return to his former home. Others wanted to be rid of irresponsible freed negroes in the community. A third group were those slaveholders who did not want to see any freed negroes in the community at all, for so long as they were present, they menaced the institution of slavery.

In 1800 the Legislature of Virginia passed a secret resolution authorizing the Governor to request the President of the United States to investigate the possibility of obtaining land somewhere outside the

state for the purpose of colonizing certain persons whose presence might be undesirable in the commonwealth. The persons in view were either freedmen, or slaves who might acquire their freedom subsequently, but they were not mentioned by name, for it was not considered desirable to arouse the opposition of the powerful slaveholding groups. Nothing came of this resolution at that time, though it influenced some of the leaders in the colonization movement at a later date.

The question of the most suitable place for colonization was often debated. Some advocated the setting aside of a piece of territory from the Northwest territory or the Louisiana Purchase where colonists might be settled upon reservations similar to those set aside for the Indians. Others felt that Africa, the native home of the slaves, was the more logical place. By colonizing there, they would not only be returned to their homeland, but they would serve as the nucleus for a missionary endeavor to civilize and Christianize the millions of Africans as yet unreached.

ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

In the final plans Africa won, and the American Colonization Society received a charter from Congress in 1816 for the purpose of assisting freed men of color to return to the African Continent. Among its members were many names distinguished in the early days of the American Republic. Judge Bushrod Washington, the favorite nephew of General

George Washington, was the first president. The Society held its early meetings in the House of Representatives at the Capitol in Washington. When General Lafayette visited America in 1825, he attended one of these sessions and was elected an honorary member.

The American Colonization Society was the parent organization, founded for the purpose of raising funds and arousing an interest in the plan of colonization. Branch societies were organized in other states. The Maryland, New York, Mississippi and Massachusetts Societies were among the most active chapters. The colonists came largely from Virginia, Georgia, Maryland and Mississippi, though other states were represented. In Mississippi considerable interest was manifested, and leading slave holders contributed many thousands of dollars and emancipated many of their slaves for the purpose of allowing them to return to Africa.

The Church manifested an interest, and sent some of its earliest missionaries to Africa to accompany the colonists. The first foreign missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church landed at Monrovia in 1832, and the first foreign missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church reached Cape Palmas in 1836. The U. S. Government gave its aid and sent a ship to transport the first colonists. Though not officially recognized, the early colonists received aid and protection from the American Government.

America was not alone in this movement for colonization. The agitation against slavery and the slave trade had been going on in England through

the leadership of Wilberforce and others. Upon the close of the war for American independence, when British soldiers evacuated the colonies, several thousand freed slaves accompanied the army as far as Nova Scotia. A thousand or more made their way to England, many in destitute circumstances, and were found begging on the streets of London. This aroused the sympathy of English leaders, who sought to found an asylum for them on the West Coast of Africa. Freetown in the colony of Sierra Leone, founded in 1786, was the result. In 1815, when the British army again left American shores after its attack on the city of Washington, it was accompanied by another body of refugee slaves. Some of them eventually found their way to London. So a second colony was sent out to Sierra Leone.

The first American colonists for Liberia were a picked lot. Among the lists were several men of genius who afterwards distinguished themselves in the government of the colony. Liberians need not be ashamed of the fact that their country was founded by men and women who had slavery as a background. Many of the early settlers of colonial days who came to America seeking freedom had also a disadvantageous background. Georgia was colonized by the philanthropist General Oglethorpe, who picked his first settlers from the more worthy of the English prisoners who had been incarcerated for debt.

Nor should the descendants of the early settlers be ashamed to admit that slavery has played a part in the history of their race, a part in which their

ancestors were the perpetrators as often as the victims. Slavery is an age-old institution, with its roots deep in the background of the social, economic and political life of both ancient and modern peoples. If there is any obloquy attached to slavery it should fall rather upon the enslavers than upon the enslaved. The strong have often taken advantage of the weak, whether their strength lay in a superior physical or economic force, or in a philosophy which justifies aggressiveness on the part of one and requires submission or resignation on the part of the other. Almost all races have passed through the period of owning slaves or of being enslaved. Africa is the last to emerge. African chiefs, Arab traders, and English, American, Dutch, Portuguese, French and Spanish merchants, have all dyed their hands in the blood of the slave traffic. Only within the past century has the enlightened conscience of the world been strong enough to abolish it from the Western Hemisphere; only in the present day is it abolishing some forms of slavery which have survived among the native tribes of Africa. It was not until 1927 that the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone passed an ordinance abolishing domestic slavery in the Protectorate.

FIRST SETTLEMENTS

In 1818 plans had so far progressed that the Colonization Society sent Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess by way of England to the West Coast to discover a suitable site for colonizing purposes.

They visited Sherbro Island which is not far from Freetown, and after investigation started back with a favorable report. Mills died on the return trip. Quite a number of captured Africans had been settled there by the British, as had also a small group of colored colonists from Nova Scotia and the United States.

At this time both England and America were warring upon the slave trade. In 1819 Congress passed an Act giving the President of the United States authority to seize any Africans who were being smuggled into the country contrary to law, and to return them to Africa. It also gave authority to establish an agency on the African coast for the subsistence and support of these persons until they could be sent back to their relatives or provide for their own support. This enabled the Colonization Society to work in coöperation with the government for the care of recaptured Africans, as well as for settling the freed people from the United States.

In February 1820, the first shipload of colonists left New York in the sailing ship *Elizabeth,* which had been chartered by the Government for the purpose. It carried two agents of the Government, an agent of the Colonization Society and eighty-eight emigrants.

This little group deserves to rank with those of the *Mayflower* for their history is much the same, and the results of their sailing may some day have as profound an effect upon the ideals of the African Continent as did those of the *Mayflower* upon America.

In many ways did these early African settlers find conditions similar to those encountered by the pioneers who sought refuge in America. Actuated by similar motives—the love of liberty—they had to face all the hardships of a sea voyage, disease on shore, internal dissensions among themselves, and struggles against a hostile native population. The Liberian colonists did not meet with a very comfortable reception in their new home.

The first expedition went to Sierra Leone, then to Sherbro Island, to the place chosen by Mills and Burgess for a settlement. The site was badly selected and soon almost the entire colony was stricken with fever. Bacon, Bankson and Crozer, the three agents, died, as did many of the colonists.

A second shipload of emigrants came out in the *Nautilus* in 1821, with two government agents and two of the Society. Leaving the colonists at Fourah Bay, near Freetown, the ship sailed on down the coast as far as Grand Bassa, where it explored the coast and returned. Dr. Eli Ayres had arrived as agent of the Society in the autumn of 1821, and in December Captain Robert F. Stockton came out on the U. S. S. *Alligator*. Dr. Ayres and Captain Stockton explored the coast of Mesurado Bay, and entered into negotiations with the native chiefs for a piece of land at the mouth of the Mesurado River. After some delay they secured the cape, the mouth of the river and some adjacent land. The treaty was signed by Ayres and Stockton and by six African chiefs who made their marks for their signatures.

A Parade on Ashmun Street, Monrovia

Executive Mansion on right and Department of State on left, with Methodist Church and College of West Africa in background

Broad Street, Monrovia

Headquarters of the Financial Adviser, Monrovia

The Promontory at Cape Palmas
Showing the Brierley School for Girls and government lighthouse

The two former returned to Fourah Bay for the colonists, and came back to Cape Mesurado on January 7, 1822. In the meanwhile some of the chiefs had changed their minds, and there was opposition to the colonists landing. After negotiations and more delay, the colonists decided to land on Perseverance or Providence Island, a small islet in the mouth of the river. Another shipload of settlers arrived shortly afterwards. And so the first settlement was made.

A few months later the colonists were transferred to the mainland. There were many discouragements during those early days. Sickness was one of the worst. African fevers took many lives. The natives attacked the settlement several times and had to be driven off—on one occasion leaving as many as two hundred of their number dead upon the ground. King Peter was one of the native chiefs who led in the attack on the little band of settlers. A hundred years later, differences had been so far forgotten that we find his great-grandson acting as Secretary of Public Instruction in the Liberian cabinet.

Land had to be cleared and the jungle conquered. Dissensions arose from time to time. There was trouble with the slavers, who did not want to see a free colony founded upon the West Coast to interfere with their smuggling and their slave trade. Often the colonists were left without a head through sickness or death. But in spite of all discouragements, they stuck to their task. Few were willing to return to America or to desert their new home.

They had taken as their motto "The love of Liberty brought us here," and they have been true to this ideal ever since.

The testimony of Samuel Benedict, one of the early settlers, shows that in spite of hardships in their new home, they preferred to be freemen in Africa rather than to live in America where slavery was a recognized institution:

"Instead of repenting that I am here, although I was well treated in Georgia, I would not return to live in the United States for five thousand dollars. There is scarcely a thinking person here but would feel insulted, if you should talk to him about returning. The people are now turning their attention to the cultivation of the soil, and are beginning to live within their own means."

One often marvels how these humble folk, springing from the lowly walks of life, could have acquired so much of the culture and experience of their masters in the new world as to be enabled to return to their homeland and carry on successfully in the fields of government, politics and religion. It is a tribute to the essential goodness and worth in human nature, and goes to show that character is not limited to any one group or to any one race.

It also shows that in spite of the unethical relation of a master to a slave, many of the slaves had opportunity of assimilating their masters' standards of living. According to Dr. Booker T. Washington, slavery gave to the black man four gifts: it taught him the value of work; it gave him the English language; it gave him the Christian religion; and it gave him Western standards of living. In many in-

stances the relation of master and servant was more that of companion and confidant than of owner and slave.

The African, above all races in the world, is endowed with an intuition which enables him to perceive the other man's thoughts. Often this sense is so strong as to be uncanny. As a racial characteristic it is undoubtedly an asset. Negroes living in America have adopted the standards and mode of life of their former masters and present neighbors. They are no longer African, but American in their outlook.

In their struggles, the colonists had the assistance of the American Colonization Society and other friends. The devotion shown by such men as Ashmun and Ayres, agents of the company, to these people of color should always be an inspiration to the descendants of these early settlers. And among the settlers themselves there were people of ability. Lott Carey and Elijah Johnson, who saved the colony from annihilation, and President J. J. Roberts, all colonists, are examples of genius. To John S. Mill, a mulatto trader, who was living near Cape Mesurado, and who befriended the early colonists in time of need, the settlers owed much.

At this time the colony had the support and sympathy of the British, and more than once they gave help which prevented the settlers from being destroyed. Lieutenant Gordon and eleven men were landed on one occasion from a British ship, and left for the defense of the settlement. Gordon was a favorite among the colonists, but he and his com-

panions were soon down with fever, and within four weeks he and seven of his eleven men were dead.

African fever has played havoc in times past. Early settlers, white agents and missionaries have fallen tragic victims to its scourge. There are many records of deaths in from three weeks to three months. Melville W. Cox, the first missionary of the Methodist Church, lived three months. Mrs. Ashmun lived less than six weeks. Mr. and Mrs. Winn, early agents, lived but a few months. American Negro emigrants were susceptible also. It is only in more recent years, with the advance of medical science, that life has become more secure for settlers upon the West Coast.

FORMATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH

The country had been given the name of Liberia —land of freedom—by General Harper of Maryland, one of the active workers in the cause of colonization. He also suggested the name of Monrovia for the capital, calling it after President Monroe. This was a very fitting tribute, for without President Monroe's personal and official interest, it is doubtful whether the colony would ever have been founded.

During the first years following the settlement at Monrovia, several of the branch societies in the United States founded more or less independent colonies along the coast. A party was sent out by the Maryland State Colonization Society in 1831, led by Dr. James Hall, who founded the colony of "Maryland in Africa," at Cape Palmas. This con-

tinued as an independent colony under a separate Governor until after Liberian independence was declared, when it was merged into the rest of the republic as Maryland County. The people of Maryland County have always manifested a great amount of local pride, and often have acted independently of the leaders at Monrovia.

The Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania founded a colony in the neighborhood of Grand Bassa. Another group, through the assistance of Scottish friends, settled at Edina, which they named in honor of Edinburgh. A further settlement was made by colonists from Mississippi at Sinoe, in the rich agricultural lands along the Sinoe River, who called the chief town Greenville after the city in their home state. Their colony was known as Mississippi in Africa and had a separate governor. In the meanwhile settlements had been made close to Cape Mount near the Sierra Leone border, and at other points along the St. Paul River behind Monrovia. So the colony grew.

As these independent settlements expanded there was more or less friction between them and the parent colony at Monrovia. Four separate colonies known as Liberia, Bassa Cove, Mississippi in Africa and Maryland, each with its own aims and government, were bound to come into conflict with one another. Finally three of them were brought together and united under a constitution drawn up by Professor Greenleaf of Harvard College, under the name of "Commonwealth of Liberia." In 1838, Thomas Buchanan, who had been Governor of the

Grand Bassa settlement, was appointed the first governor of the newly organized commonwealth. Maryland continued to function as a separate government until after independence was declared.

The next ten years were given over to struggles against the native chiefs, and conflicts with slave traders. Buchanan was an able man, and so were a number of his successors, but ill health or death made the terms of the governors very brief indeed. The colonists came into armed conflict with native chiefs over the question of slave smuggling, the chiefs being often prompted to resistance by slave traders. A great deal of trouble arose with English traders in the neighborhood of Cape Mount, who claimed the territory as a part of Sierra Leone. In 1842 the French Government attempted to secure a foothold at Cape Mount and at several places along the coast. France abandoned its claims for the time being, but in later years seized all that portion of the Liberian coast between the Cavalla and San Pedro Rivers, and organized the territory as part of the French Ivory Coast.

Governor Buchanan had died in 1841 at Bassa Cove. His death was a great blow to the country, but he was succeeded by Joseph James Roberts, who was appointed Governor by the Colonization Society. Roberts was an able man. He had come out to Liberia as a colonist in 1829. He was born in Virginia in 1809 and was of mixed white and Negro parentage. His six years of administration as governor did much to consolidate the interests of the

colonists, to establish authority over Liberian territory and to win recognition from the world at large.

INDEPENDENCE

But trouble was brewing for the colony. In addition to difficulties over boundaries, the English and other foreigners were unwilling to pay duties on goods imported into the colony, claiming that it had no status as an independent nation. The Liberian Government seized an English trading boat for failure to pay duty. The English in retaliation seized a boat belonging to a Liberian citizen and sold it for £2000.

An appeal was made to America. The Colonization Society, of course, had no authority to deal with Great Britain. The matter was taken up with the United States Government. The year 1846 found Washington in quite a different mood about slavery than that of 1820. The American Government made some half-hearted representations to the British Government. It received a reply that Great Britain "could not recognize the sovereign powers of Liberia, which she regarded as a mere commercial experiment of a philanthropic society." The American Colonization Society could do nothing more, and the United States Government was not disposed to act.

The Colonization Society decided to advise Liberia to declare her independence as a separate nation. The Liberians therefore took matters into their own hands and called a constitutional convention, which

began its deliberations on June 25, 1847. On July 26, a Declaration of Independence was issued and a Constitution adopted. The Constitution is modeled upon that of the United States, and their flag consists of the same red, white and blue which flutters to the breeze from American standards. It has eleven red and white stripes, for the eleven signatories of the Declaration, and a single white star upon a blue field in the corner.

Thus were severed those ties which had bound the little colony officially to America. The Colonization Society ceded its territory and rights to the new born republic, reserving only a small plot of ground for colonization purposes and certain alternate sections of land to be set aside for the benefit of education in the future public school system.

The history of Liberia since 1847 is a story of continued struggles and many disappointments, but during this period the young republic has learned to walk alone down the path of freedom to self-government.

Governor Roberts was elected the first president of the republic and held office for eight years, retiring in 1855. He was later elected president of Liberia College, founded through the interests of Judge Simon Greenleaf and members of the Massachusetts Colonization Society.

Great Britain was the first to recognize the new republic, in 1848, followed by France, Prussia and a number of other European countries shortly afterwards. The United States did not give its official recognition until 1862. During this period America

was torn asunder by the great issues of slavery and secession, and the little republic upon the West Coast of Africa was forgotten in the struggle.

SUMMARY OF COLONIZATION EFFORTS

During the first fifty years of its history, the semi-centennial of which was celebrated at Washington in 1867, the American Colonization Society had expended $2,558,907, exclusive of the amounts expended by the Maryland Society and by the Government. Nearly 12,000 emigrants had been sent over in 147 ships. Of this number approximately 4,500 were born free, 344 purchased their freedom, and nearly 6,000 were given their freedom for the purpose of going to Liberia.

In addition to this, 1,221 had been sent over by the Maryland Society, and 6,722 recaptured Africans had been returned by the United States Government.

The Maryland Colonization Society had enjoyed the advantages of a subsidy from the State Treasury, and until 1858 received an annual grant of $10,000 from the General Assembly, and after this date $5,000 until the outbreak of the American Civil War.

In 1858 the Liberian Legislature formally received the Maryland Colony into the Republic as Maryland County. From its inception in 1831, until the end of December 1857, the Maryland Society had received and expended nearly half a million dollars, —$443,883. A little more than half of this came

from state funds, the balance, over $200,000, from private sources.

During the first forty years of its existence,—that is, from 1821 until the outbreak of the Civil War—there were about 15,000 American colonists transported to Liberia by all agencies. In addition to these, about 5,000 recaptured Africans, who were being smuggled into America were also settled around Monrovia. Many of these came from the American Government's depot at Key West, Florida. They made good settlers, were amenable to the laws of the colony and many were absorbed into the body of Americo-Liberians.

In 1865, as a result of the Civil War, emigration from America to Liberia had practically ceased. The Colonization Society found itself with a surplus of funds and few applicants for emigration. Liberia, however, was asking for more settlers. About this time an appeal came from the Barbados, British West Indies, where two societies had been organized among thrifty Negroes for the purpose of enabling their members to emigrate to Africa. The Colonization Society responded by a grant of $10,000, and the Liberian Government appropriated $4,000 to assist them to get established in their new home. A large vessel was chartered which brought over 346 emigrants. Among the lot was a little lad who later became a distinguished citizen of Liberia—the Hon. Arthur J. Barclay, who served his adopted country as President.

Emigration since the American Civil War has been small. The field of opportunity opening up for

the Negro in America, and his rapid rise in the economic life of the country, have focussed his attention upon opportunities at home rather than upon Africa. There have been altogether hardly more than 25,000 emigrants from America who have taken up their abode in Liberia (exclusive of recaptured Africans).

Unless conditions change, Liberia will in the future look more and more to herself, and to her native peoples, for development. In her virile native population she has great resources for both leadership and labor.

CHAPTER II

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION AND AREA

Liberia is situated on the west coast of Africa, where the Atlantic Ocean sweeps round from the Gulf of Guinea. It is therefore on the main highway of travel between the ports of West Africa and the continent of Europe. It lies just north of the Equator, falling approximately within the parallels of 4½ and 8½ degrees of North latitude, and the meridians of 7½ and 11½ degrees of West longitude. In respect to the American continent, it lies almost due east of Panama and the mouth of the Amazon River. It is on that part of the African continent nearest to America, the distance across the Atlantic Ocean to the northeast corner of Brazil being only about 1,800 miles. Monrovia, the capital of the republic, is on the northwest part of the coast, about seventy miles from the Sierra Leone boundary. It is but a few hundred miles farther from New York than is Liverpool. In fact, if one were to draw lines between New York, Liverpool and Monrovia the distance along each side of the triangle would be almost the same.

The country has a coastline of about 350 miles, and the territory runs inland from 90 to 200 miles from the sea. In size it is about as large as the state

of Ohio, with approximately 42,000 square miles of territory, most of which is covered with forest.

RAINFALL

The most important factor in the climate is the rainfall, which also governs the seasons. The country lies within the area of the heavy tropical rain belt, which extends around the earth on both sides of the Equator. The heavy rainfall accounts for the growth of the forests, and changes in the amount of precipitation during the year account for the wet and dry seasons. The annual rainfall on the coast amounts to about 179 inches, three-fourths of which falls between May and October. The dry season usually begins in November and extends until the first part of April, when showers occur accompanied by thunder storms. In the midst of the rainy season, generally from the middle of July to the middle of August, there are several weeks in which rains cease; this is known as the "middle drys." As one proceeds into the interior the annual rainfall is less. On the borders of French Guinea, near the edge of the Mandingo Plateau, the dry season is more marked. Here the annual rainfall is probably two-thirds of what it is on the coast. The prevailing winds are from the southwest and are very light. Storms accompany the opening and close of the rainy seasons, usually blowing furiously from the southwest, lasting only a short time, and ending as suddenly from the northeast. There is very little wind or lightning during the rainy season; it simply rains with a

steady downpour for days and weeks. One of the best features of the climate is the almost constant night sea breeze on the coast. After four o'clock in the afternoon, the temperature falls considerably and the nights are usually cool.

During the dry season the difference in temperature between day and night is more pronounced. At Sanoquelleh, near the boundary of French Guinea, during the month of February, it was noticed that the thermometer registered a fall in temperature of nearly 50 degrees between three o'clock in the afternoon and three o'clock next morning. (The afternoon reading was taken in the sun.) Two—and sometimes three—blankets were found comfortable there at night. In the hinterland during the nights of the dry season, and often during the rainy season, the natives suffer from cold. Missionaries as well as government officials build their houses with chimneys so that fires may be used during the rainy season to drive away the chill of the night air as well as the dampness from the rains. At Sanoquelleh the average altitude is probably between 1,500 and 2,000 feet and, with the exception of the midday hours of the dry season, the climate is pleasant most of the year round. Here one notices during the dry season, the presence of the wind from the Sudan generally spoken of as the Harmattan.

WEATHER RECORDS

On the Coast: As an indication of the weather in the vicinity of Monrovia, the following table selected from a meteorological report cited by Mr. R. C. F. Maugham,

gives records obtained at Mount Barclay, ten miles inland from Monrovia.

THERMOMETER READINGS IN FAHRENHEIT

Date 1913	*Maximum*	*Minimum*	*Rainfall for Month*
January 1.....	92	73	0.80
February 1.....	95.5	73	8.60
March 1.....	95	70.5	1.94
April 1.....	82	70	7.87
May 1.....	88	70	11.79
June 1.....	81	71	20.52
July 1.....	81	72	28.85
August 1.....	83	71	31.17
September 1....	82	72	26.63
October 1.....	85	73	12.95
November 1.....	86	72	7.78
December 1.....	88	73	1.50
	Total Rainfall for year		160.40 inches

In the Interior: Weather records have been kept for several years at the Holy Cross Mission at Masambolahun, on the upper border of Liberia near the Sierra Leone boundary. The average elevation of this part of the country is about 2,000 feet.

For purposes of comparison with those on the coast records for typical months are given below:

THERMOMETER READINGS IN FAHRENHEIT

1924 *Month*	*Maximum*	*Minimum*	*Rainfall for Month*
January	81	46	0.0
February	84	58	1.90
April	86	68	7.41
June	82	68	9.68
August	80	66	17.84
October	82	68	13.75
December	83	69	.34

There was no precipitation at all for the month of January, 1925. The lowest record for cold that has been registered at the station was also during this month, when the thermometer dropped to 46° Fahr. on January 25th. The thermometer is kept inside the Mission building, and outside variations were probably 10 degrees higher for heat, and 10 degrees lower for cold.

CLIMATE AND HEALTH

Liberia seems to be specially favored in the effect of the climate on health and the limited extent of tropical diseases among the people. Although there has been no effective sanitary organization, the health of the inhabitants, especially that of the Europeans, is better than in some other portions of the West Coast. Some of the most dreaded tropical diseases, such as sleeping sickness and yellow fever, are rare, while the percentage of others is relatively low. When yellow fever does occur it is believed to be brought into the country from other parts of the West Coast.

The commonest diseases are malaria, dysentery, beri-beri, smallpox, conjunctivitis, rheumatism, elephantiasis, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and various skin diseases. Cases of yaws and leprosy are found among the native population. The jigger and guinea worm are also prevalent. Americo-Liberians are as much subject to malaria as are Europeans, but the native tribes are said to be more or less immune. Malaria, however, probably accounts in part for the high rate of infant mortality among native children.

Hookworm is common, and undoubtedly a large

Natives Cleaning Rice at Sanoquelleh, North-eastern Liberia

Black Mandingo Cattle at Sanoquelleh

Native Women Spinning Cotton, Northern Liberia

A Mende Man Weaving Strips of Cotton Cloth on Native Loom

percentage of the people are infected with it. Investigation is needed to determine possible methods of eliminating it. With other diseases caused by intestinal parasites it probably accounts in part for the physical condition of the people. Venereal disease is prevalent to a large extent along the coast and is being introduced among the natives of the interior. With malaria and tuberculosis it probably accounts for the marked decrease in the population of the civilized Americo-Liberians along the coast.

The question of population is an important one in relation to the development of the Republic, as a sparse population is not capable of developing the abundant resources of the country or possibly even of making the clearings which may be essential to the carrying out of hygienic measures. The prevalence of malaria and of parasitic diseases has close relation to the vitality and stamina of the people. The development of a new country requires a virile, energetic, ambitious people with the necessary stamina to cope with natural obstacles and to persist even in the face of great odds. Public health also has a very direct bearing on the labor question as a people who are below par physically will not be able to undertake the arduous labor of opening up a new country.

Some missionaries and others stay in Liberia for a period of three years or more without serious impairment of health. There seems, therefore, to be no reason why, with due regard to precautions against mosquitoes, the sun, and over-work, and with attention to water and food supply, Europeans

could not safely stay for reasonable periods of service.

The most unhealthy seasons are at the beginning and the end of the rains, September and October being the worst months.

The list of all the diseases found in the country would be a formidable one, but so also would be a list of those of the temperate regions, and of course while certain diseases are endemic it does not necessarily mean that one must contract them.

By observing a few simple rules, such as care about diet and exercise, and temperance in personal habits, the health of Europeans in Liberia can be greatly conserved. Experience tends to show that one should always wear a sun helmet until after sundown and avoid sitting where the rays can strike the head or back. On cloudy days the effect of the actinic rays is said to be as injurious as that of direct sunshine, injuring the spinal cord as well as the brain.

Another important rule is to take quinine regularly. Most people take five grains of quinine bihydrochloride once a day, either at breakfast or at bedtime. So far quinine or some of its substitutes is the most effective method of prevention known. Houses should be screened with fine mesh wire to keep away mosquitoes and, what is more important still, their breeding places should be destroyed. It is always wise to sleep under a fine mesh mosquito net at night.

Another precaution is to boil, and if possible filter, all drinking-water in order to avoid the dangers of

contracting dysentery and parasitic diseases. It is also important to take active exercise for at least an hour daily, to have good wholesome food and fresh vegetables, and to be careful about eating native foods and fruits, where there is danger from dysentery. Avoid draughts and chills, have good warm covering for nights, remove wet clothing on coming into the house, show prudence in the care of health—these precautions will contribute greatly towards keeping well. It is important that the service of a competent physician should be within easy reach. The climate is especially trying to women.

HEALTH IN THE HINTERLAND

As an example of health conditions in the hinterland, the following information furnished by Dr. Edgar Maas, the physician in charge of the hospital of the Holy Cross Mission at Masambolahun will be of interest.

The physician had been at the station for three months, during which time more than two hundred patients from the surrounding villages had received treatment. Most of the cases coming for general treatment were due to ulcers and intestinal parasites. Ulcers are of two kinds—tropical and frambœsic. There had been five cases of leprosy identified, but contrary to common opinion there had not been many cases of contagious skin diseases. There was a comparatively large amount of eye trouble, due mostly to neglect. Venereal disease was fairly well distributed.

There were about forty native boys in the school at the time of the report. The general state of health among them was good, though all were infected with one or more kinds of intestinal parasites. Practically all had hookworm infection and some of them had as many as three kinds of intestinal worms. The extent of infection is shown by the following statement.

100 per cent Hookworm infection.
50 per cent Ascaris.
25 per cent Trichuris.
1 boy with Tapeworm.
1 boy with Oxyuris.
3 boys with Bilharzia.

Mentality at that time had not been affected by hookworm as most of the boys were still young, but 80 per cent of them showed a diminished amount of hemoglobin in the blood, one extreme case being only 55 per cent normal. Two boys showed stunted growth as a result of early hookworm infection. The heavy infection of hookworm was due to the lack of any system of sanitation in the villages. Intestinal parasites were due to eating unclean food, fruits and meats, or to drinking water from streams or pools into which the eggs or larvæ of these parasites had been washed.

There had been one case of malaria, and several cases of umbilical hernia caused by improper treatment at time of birth. Of this, however, there were not as many cases as were common in the colonies of West Africa. Indications were that some boys

would outgrow this disability by the time they were mature.

SURFACE

Viewed from the sea the coast presents a monotonous appearance broken only here and there by promontories. The most important of these are Cape Mount, near the town of Robertsport; Cape Montserrado near Monrovia; and Cape Palmas, near the town of Harper. A fourth promontory is Bafu Point, just east of the Sangwin River.

The foot hills begin a few miles back from the coast and the surface rises in broken ridges and valleys to the northeast where it becomes a part of the Mandingo Plateau. Mountain ranges are frequent as one approaches the borders of French Guinea and the Ivory Coast. The general altitude of the country along the border is probably 1,800 to 2,000 feet, with mountain ranges rising still higher. The surface is very broken, a succession of hills and valleys, with many small sluggish streams flowing through bogs or meadows of ferns and grasses. These fill with water during the rainy season and when the dry weather comes they form admirable breeding places for mosquitoes. Malaria is therefore the constant enemy of man even in the plateaus of the hinterland. In going from Ganta to Sanoquelleh, a distance of perhaps eighteen miles, one climbs up and down as many as forty-two hills and crosses almost as many little streams.

RIVERS AND HARBORS

The general direction of the rivers is towards the south or southwest. They are navigable for only a few miles from their mouths, across which there is generally a sand-bar. This prevents steamers from using them as harbors, and makes landing sometimes dangerous in the rainy season when the sea is rough. The more important rivers are the Loffa, St. Paul, St. John, River Cess and Cavalla. The St. Paul and the Stockton Creek make navigation possible for small launches as far up the river as White Plains, a distance of about twenty miles from Monrovia. The Cavalla, which now forms the boundary between Liberia and the French Ivory Coast, is the most important river in size, and is navigable for light draught vessels for a distance of sixty or seventy miles. The French have acquired complete control of this river, but permission is granted to Liberian citizens to ply boats upon it.

During the rainy season, the rivers are generally flooded, and navigation is sometimes difficult.

The line of waterfalls a short distance from the coast, where the rivers enter the narrow coastal area, would make hydro-electric power available to furnish power and light for various enterprises.

There are a number of salt water lagoons along the coast, some of which might be connected up with canals and serve as a means for coastwise traffic for vessels of a light draught.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

The country is in communication with the outside world through regular steamship lines calling at a number of Liberian ports, and by wireless and cable stations at Monrovia.

The most serious handicap to progress, however, has been the difficulty of transportation along the coast and the lack of any means of communication with the interior other than native trails. Heretofore all travel between points in the interior and the coast has been done on foot, or by hammock. Loads of produce are brought down from the interior and supplies for up-country stations carried on the heads of native porters in small loads and by broken journeys for a distance sometimes of 200 miles. This has served as an effectual barrier to the development of trade and the opening up of the interior.

The Government has been fully cognizant of these conditions for years and has made repeated efforts to remedy the situation. Some of its financial difficulties in times past have been the result of its effort to secure foreign loans with which to develop the interior and to open up roads. Unfortunately, due to the lack of experience on the part of officials in drawing up agreements and administering funds, the results have turned out disastrously for the country. There are at present, however, some 500 miles of roadway under construction in various parts of the republic. These lead from Monrovia,

Cape Palmas, and one or two other coast stations, into the interior. Some of the highways are now completed.

In 1927 there were about 125 automobiles in the country, used for purposes of transportation and travel. As soon as funds are available it is the intention of the Government to develop a system of roads which will put the coast in ready communication with the more important centers of the interior.

MINERAL DEPOSITS

As yet no minerals of commercial value have been reported in sufficient quantities to warrant their workings. A few years ago an English company undertook to develop a gold mine near Careysburg, but it has since been abandoned. There is need for a complete geological survey to be made of the country.

SOIL

The soil is comparatively rich and most of the country would be cultivable if cleared and planted. The surface soil is made up largely of decomposed laterite which gives it a soft brown color. In many places gravel covers the surface of the hillsides and roads, so that native porters have difficulty in walking in their bare feet. There is practically no limestone in the country, therefore lime has to be imported for building purposes. Granite, quartz, and mica are found in parts of the interior.

ANIMALS

Since most of Liberia is covered with forests, the animals chiefly found are those which inhabit forest areas. In the interior, elephants have for generations made their home. Their tusks have constituted one of the articles of commerce in times past, and their meat has furnished food to the natives. Herds, however, are becoming scarcer and are only to be found in the deep recesses of the forest; the sale of ivory is becoming a negligible factor in export trade. The native has a local word, "meat" which he uses to designate any wild game, and hunting constitutes one of the chief occupations of the forest tribes.

Two varieties of hippopotami are known. The streams in Liberia are rather small, but the ordinary African hippopotamus has been reported from time to time near the coast. The other type known as the dwarf or pigmy hippopotamus seems to be peculiar to Liberia, and its discovery some years ago aroused considerable interest. This smaller type of hippopotamus is found in various parts of the country and specimens are not at all hard to obtain. There are two types of water buffalo. One is known as the Congolese Dwarf Red Buffalo, commonly called the "bush cow" and the other, the Senegalese type found in the north. The "bush cow" is well-known to the natives and is common throughout West Africa.

As to flesh eaters, the lion, which prefers comparatively open country to forest, does not appear to live within the present borders of Liberia, but

leopards are prevalent in almost all parts of the country. The true leopard is beautifully marked and is quite ferocious, being held in great fear by the natives. There are one or two smaller leopard cats, which prey upon chickens and small animals in the villages and are commonly called "tiger cats" by the natives.

Mr. R. C. F. Maugham, in his valuable book "The Republic of Liberia," gives a full description of the more important animals to be found in the country.

There are several species of deer and antelope, one of which is the eland, reported from northern Liberia, and another the Bongo antelope. There are several kinds of duiker, or small deer, besides the water chevrotain. Another deer often spoken of as the royal antelope, appears in some of the fables as "the rabbit." As a matter of fact it is the smallest type of deer known being only nine or ten inches high. The wild hog is represented by several species. Monkeys and squirrels are also common. The chimpanzee or anthropoid ape, is found back from the coast and may sometimes be seen as a pet in the homes of Monrovia.

Among the birds, eagles and hawks are occasionally reported. Hornbills, parrots, guinea fowls, partridges, pigeons and doves are more common. The "weaver," or rice bird, is well known on account of its damages to the growing crops.

At least two varieties of crocodiles are found, but not in large numbers. One is the slender snouted species, living in the larger rivers near the coast, and the other the savage Nilotic type, which fortu-

nately does not grow to such a size as it does in other parts of Africa.

There are several species of snakes, some of which are very deadly including the viper, cobra, and puff-adder. There are several members of the python family which live upon the smaller game in the forest.

Among the insects, the cockroach and the mosquito are two of the most common. Several varieties of flies are known, though neither the ordinary house fly nor the tsetse are as common as one might suppose. The driver ant, known for its ability to "pinch," occurs in great numbers, and the white ant, or blind termite, builds its mounds of earth all over the country. The driver ant is greatly feared by the natives, as it feeds upon the flesh of animals. Some natives are reported to have killed their enemies by tying them in the bush and allowing the ants to eat them. The termites cause great damage to houses and ordinary building materials; to avoid their ravages is one of the problems in West Africa.

The horse does not seem to do well near the coast, but up-country one finds good horses and on the borders of French Guinea the natives use a very spirited breed which they import from French territory.

Cattle do well up-country, and in some places along the coast. They are bred almost exclusively for meat, and not for milking. They are a valuable source of wealth among the natives of the interior, but are chiefly owned by chiefs or heads of clans.

Black Mandingo cattle, as well as other types are

found in the upper parts of the interior, while the European breeds brought in by the colonists are found along the coast. Cattle raising, however, is not given the importance as an occupation which it deserves.

When it comes to poultry and livestock, the country produces chickens, ducks, and guinea fowl, pigs, goats and sheep.

FOREST PRODUCTS AND AGRICULTURE

Across the middle portion of the country there is a belt of timber known as the Gola Forest, which contains valuable tracts of hardwoods. Some forest areas are also found in sections of the Buzi country and portions of eastern Liberia. But at present the timber resources are unknown, and there are practically no sawmills for dealing with forest products. What lumber is available is obtained by natives who fell the trees and saw the planks by hand.

In the areas near the coast, as well as in the belt beyond the forest, the country has been cleared for farms in times past, and is now covered with second growth bush. In proportion to the forest area very little grass land is found in the highlands of the interior. On both sides of the forest belt, one sees areas of palm trees, covering hillsides and valleys; these trees are a valuable asset to the country so long as palm kernels and palm oil are in demand in Western markets.

In addition to the palm kernels, the money crops

are coffee, rubber, piassava fiber; and in the southeast, cocoa and cocoanuts to a limited extent. There are possibilities in sugar cane, which grows well, but what is now produced is used chiefly in the manufacture of rum. Rice and cassava are two staple food crops, supplemented by eddoes (colocasia) and sweet potatoes. A great variety of vegetables will grow, however, if given reasonable care, as has been demonstrated many times in home gardens by those who are interested enough to tend them.

Many kinds of tropical fruits grow in abundance, among these being pineapples, oranges, limes, avocado pears, pawpaws, mangoes, and bread fruit. In the hinterland, the kola nut is an article of commerce, and practically every native village has its patch where cotton of a good fiber is produced in small quantities and woven into native country cloths.

This brief summary gives an idea of the agricultural possibilities. What is needed is some intelligent organization for production and marketing, and the will to work. Ashmun, in one of his parting letters to the early settlers, called their attention to the possibilities which lay in the soil and the independent life which was to be gained through the exertion of a little effort on their farms. But his picture of the small-farmer class among Americo-Liberians was never destined to be realized, and many of the settlers preferred to go into trade. Among the well-to-do, there has grown up the ideal of the leisured planter-class of the old South, with work on the farms performed by native labor.

As long as native labor could be employed at a profit the farms flourished. When coffee declined, the people abandoned their farms for government service.

It would appear therefore that the future prosperity of the country, which really is to be found in agriculture, must depend largely upon training the native man to be a small farmer. This given, with settlement upon the land in his own right, working his small holding, it should be the function of the Government to make him feel secure in the enjoyment of his possessions. It has been said on several occasions that the natives in certain communities did not care to produce a surplus, because they were afraid it would be taken away from them, either by their chiefs or by others. There may be some truth in these statements. The Government will at some future time be able to give its attention to remedying the situation.

COLONISTS AND NATIVES

In more recent years the growing importance of the native people as distinguished from the Americo-Liberians as a factor in national life is beginning to be recognized. In the early days, the history of Liberia centered around the activities of the colonists who were busily engaged in founding a republic and shaping its course. Occasionally a youth of native parents who had assimilated the culture of the colonists, came into prominence, being judged by his ability to conform to Western standards.

More and more, however, sons of natives have entered the schools, acquired education, and attained prominence in the political, religious and economic life of the republic. By the end of the first quarter of the present century, we find a considerable number occupying positions of importance in national life. As members of the cabinet, as judges, as vice-presidents, as diplomatic representatives, they are a power to be recognized.

In days to come, by sheer force of numbers, they will exert a larger influence in national life. The Americo-Liberians have contributed the present standards of religion, government and culture, to national life. The native peoples will be expected to carry them on, with probably a growing emphasis upon things African. By their ability to match wits with people of European or Western cultures will they be able to maintain their national life, and to treat with other groups upon terms of political equality. In the past, the Americo-Liberian has certainly demonstrated his ability to do this, and has therefore been able to maintain his national existence. Japan and the Philippines are probably the two examples of national development which will prove the most suggestive to the Liberian of the future. As the native element rises in power, let us hope that the changes will be gradual and peaceful, and free from active class conflict. Liberia has had no revolutions, and has been singularly free from violence during its century of existence.

The native groups probably contain a million persons, though accurate statistics are not available.

The total number of Americo-Liberians transported to Africa probably did not exceed twenty or twenty-five thousand, during the first three or four decades of their history, and since 1860 immigration has been very limited.

The early colonists and their descendants have occupied the small settlements along the coast; in the neighborhood of Monrovia; along the St. Paul River and as far east as Maryland County.

Their descendants, while constituting the governing class, have not been numerous at any one time. The party of some three hundred immigrants who arrived in 1865 from the Barbados have contributed a number of able leaders to the Republic. Compared with a million or more native people, ten or fifteen thousand Americo-Liberians are but a small handful. They have, however, influenced many of the natives living along the coast, who have assimilated much of the culture and standards of the Americo-Liberians. Many people of Americo-Liberian stock have intermarried with natives, so that to-day, many so-called Liberians are the product of inter-marriages. In the future the distinction between Americo-Liberian and native will be less and less evident, and the designation of "Liberian" should cover both. At present the terms "civilized" and "native" are used colloquially to differentiate the two stages of development. National life in the future should claim all.

Those contemplating work of a religious, educational or commercial nature in Liberia cannot afford to overlook the importance of the native people. Their ethnic background, their religious beliefs, and

their social organization should be understood in order that they may be intelligently dealt with.

Persons interested in the religious development of the people, through the growth of Christian missions or otherwise, will find that the religious beliefs and emotional background of the various native groups need to be understood, before the task of converting them to any form of Western Christianity can be seriously undertaken.

Teachers interested in the development of the proper type of education will recognize the significance of what the natives have already achieved in their system of village "education by doing" and in their Poro and Sande societies, as well as in their folklore, music and craftsmanship.

Government officials, seeking to bring a group of primitive tribes into the body politic, and administer their affairs with justice and with equity, will gain by studying the natives' system of tribal organization and of government by chiefs and by clans, and by acquiring sympathetic knowledge of their local customs.

Capitalists seeking to develop the natural resources of the country through native labor, will find it essential to know something of the health, stamina, and social organization of the people as well as of their development in agriculture and handicrafts.

THE NATIVE PEOPLES

The native populations which inhabit the present country of Liberia belong to three kindred ethnological groups. The first has been designated as the

Kru, including the natives along the lower coast, that is, the Krus, Bassas, Des, Grebos, and neighboring tribes, who represent the original Negro stock of West Africa. The second is the Mandingo, composed of groups which have come in from the Sudan and mixed with the native stock. They vary all the way from the pure Mandingos and Vais, who are closely related to them, to other tribes with more admixture, such as the Kpelle, Buzi, Mende, Gbande, and Gbunde. This mingling of Mandingo with a large proportion of native stock gives rise to a group of related tribes which might well be classed under the general term of Kpelle. The third group includes the Golas and Kissis, who belong to the black races of Western Africa, allied with the Temne and Bulom in Sierra Leone.

These native tribes know little about their common ancestry; frequently between two groups which are closely related there is manifested a great deal of antagonism or tribal jealousy. The African is clannish in his attachments, and in times past intertribal wars have been frequent. Within more recent years, thanks to the efforts of the Liberian Government, tribal raids and bickerings have been stopped, and the people are learning to live with one another on friendly terms.

A curious situation has arisen through the fact that the learned Mandingos are not only employed as political advisers, but also in the practice of pagan religion. In many parts of Liberia, as for instance among the Kpelle, public sacrifices are offered under the guidance of a Mohammedan Mandingo. He

knows the Mohammedan art of divining by "cutting sand." And the amulets or small leather bags containing scraps of paper on which passages are written in Arabic from the Koran, are prepared by him and are highly appreciated and well paid for. These "men of God" (Allah), as they call themselves, dispose of the power of their Lord for the benefit of benighted pagans. It is evident that this position and activity of theirs mean a slow but incessant influx of Islamic ideas into the pagan communities.

In spite of the decided differences in language, as well as in ethnic affinity, the three groups of the native population, having for a long period lived side by side on the same soil, possess to-day many common features in their civilization. Their villages and houses, their trades and their mode of farming, their social institutions and even their religious views and beliefs are in many respects similar or identical.

The observations presented in this book in order to make possible an understanding of some of the basic principles underlying native civilization in Liberia are based largely upon investigations made amongst the Kpelle. But they give some idea of native institutions existing with more or less variation among most of the native peoples. The Kpelle tribes inhabit the greater part of the central area of the country, stretching back from near the sea to the borders of French Guinea and the Ivory Coast. Each tribe and section has its local customs, but they are all variants of the common customs and institutions which have been brought into the country

through different waves of migration. These have subsequently been influenced and modified by local conditions, and by the tribal stocks with which they have mingled.

Sometimes an invading tribe has imposed its culture upon a native group, at other times it has been absorbed into the native stock, leaving but faint traces of itself in words or customs current in later years. The series of invasions and migrations in this part of Africa covering a long period of years, has left a variety of languages and dialects for which in many instances it is impossible to account. In the region of West Africa, between Lake Chad and the sea, there are no less than four hundred dialects which have been identified. Of these about two hundred have been definitely studied.

Mohammedanism has exerted a considerable influence among the natives of the north and northwest. Those living in the eastern parts of the country are still pagan, as are those along the coast with the exception of the few who have adopted Christianity through the efforts of American missionaries or of the Americo-Liberian settlers. The Vais are Mohammedan and in times past have carried on an extensive trade in slaves. They have a Poro society for men and the corresponding Sande society for women. They engage in some farming and excel as weavers and makers of country cloths, which are dyed beautiful browns and blues and play a large part in native trade. The Vais inhabit the territory in the neighborhood of Cape Mount and the interior behind the harbor.

THE KRU GROUPS

The Krus are typical Negroes, dark-skinned, of a rather short, sturdy, thickset figure, with long arms, large faces and prominent lips. They are famous as a seafaring people, being employed on European vessels all along the West African coast. They are to be found as valued laborers in almost all the larger ports, but generally return to their own home when their tour of work is over. Small colonies have, however, settled of late years at Freetown, and other portions of the West Coast, usually occupying sections in the municipality known as "Krutown." In their home villages the main occupation of the men is fishing, while the women work the farms, which are mostly situated at some distance from the coast. Women and children take up their abode in little temporary hamlets built on these farms, so that during the farming time the towns are almost deserted.

The Krus are industrious, thrifty, of good intellect, open-minded, and have a strong sense of independence and self-assurance. They are fond of extended, verbose conversations, and are always ready for a joke or a hearty laugh.

A branch of the Kru group are known as the Maba or Mamba. They occupied the land from the Mesurado River at the present site of Monrovia to the Junk River and back to the Stockton Creek. Their paramount chief, who was known as King Grey, had his capital to the east of Monrovia; King George was the local chief who lived at Monrovia. They

had a sacred grove near the present site of Government Square. They also had a well opposite the island from which the early colonists were accustomed to get water. The first battle in which the colonists were attacked by the local chiefs and their followers took place near this well. The Des, Vais, and Golas were the groups chiefly engaged in the early fighting around Monrovia. At present the Mabas live by farming and by bringing in wood and lumber to sell to the civilized people living in the neighborhood of the capital.

The Krus were farmers originally, but now man the boats plying in the West Coast trade. Their fame as good sailors is known all along the West Coast. The Bassas are a branch of this group who have been mixed more or less with the Kpelle or Mandingo stock. The Bassa group who have their Poro and Sande societies are divided into several clans. At present they are chiefly farmers, though they work with the Krus in manning ships along the coast. They live to the east of Monrovia and the Junk River. Bassa Point, which figures prominently in early West African history, received its name from them.

On the lower Kru Coast are a number of tribes among whom might be mentioned the Karbah, Nifu, and Gbatah (Ba'ta) and others. These are fishing people; the men go to sea while the women carry on the farming operations. The Krus are known by the peculiar blue mark which is tattooed into their foreheads to show that they would not be sold into slavery. They are very proud of this mark, but in

recent days the necessity for its incision has passed away.

In the far east, in the neighborhood of the Cavalla River, live the Grebos, a dark brown people, who have their Poro and Sande societies. They are farmers, hunters and fishers. They boast that they have never been slaves and have never owned slaves. They have been warlike in the past and caused considerable trouble to the early colonists who settled in Maryland County. Behind the Grebos and closely related to them are the Pahn and a number of other groups who live in the more remote sections of Liberia, near the Ivory Coast. They are engaged in farming and hunting.

THE MANDINGO GROUPS

The second group of the population in Liberia is represented by the Mandingos or Mandes. They are negroid, or of the Sudanese Negro type. They vary in color from light brown to black. Many resemble old copper in color and have rather thin lips, good foreheads, and from the Western point of view, are attractive in appearance. Their home is in the western Sudan where they are divided into a large number of sections and tribes and form the most important unit of people in that area, occupying, though not exclusively, the territory between the Sahara, the Atlantic Ocean and the Black Volta on the Ivory Coast. Some tribes live still farther east, on the Gold Coast, and in northeastern Nigeria. The Mandingos are divided into two main sections

which are named after the local word they use for the numeral *ten* in their dialect. One group uses the word "tan" and the other "fu," so that *Mande-tan* and *Mande-fu* are the two classifications by which they are usually known. The Mande-tan are those generally spoken of as Mandingo. The Mande-fu live near the sea shore, while the Mande-tan occupy the country beyond the forest belt, with the exception of the Vai, who have advanced to the coast. Some of the more important sections of the Mande-tan are the Bambara, Malinke, Dyula, Soninke and Vai.

The Mandingos are a highly developed industrious race, many of them showing an admixture of North African blood, which is Caucasian (Berber) in its origin, but long since submerged in the darker races of the Sudan. Besides being good farmers and cattle-breeders, they are famous as workers in metal, leather and cotton. They have in the past created powerful political organizations and have exercised a far-reaching political and cultural influence over a large part of the western Sudan, not only by wars and political domination, but still more by peaceful colonization. They are to be found in leading positions in most of the larger centers, living in their own settlements beside the native towns. They do not generally limit their activity to trading, but also have their farms and tend to become definitely sedentary. Most of them are Mohammedans. By this fact, by their richer clothing, their greater wealth, and their knowledge of reading and writing, they become the natural leaders of pagan tribes. Many

of them live as counselors and secretaries at chiefs' courts. It is only natural that ambitious pagans in such communities should desire to adapt their life and manners to those of these distinguished strangers.

Many of the Mande-tan languages, especially the most important ones such as Malinke, Dyula and Bambara, are closely related, so that inter-tribal understanding prevents no difficulties. Two tribes speaking Mande-tan languages are represented in Liberia, the Malinke in the northwest, and their neighbors, the Vai, who inhabit the western coast region between Cape Mount and Monrovia. The Konno or Kondo (Kono), who live farther north and are separated from the Vai proper by a group of Mende, speak a Vai dialect, and are near relatives of that tribe.

The Vai possess in their personal appearance and their civilization all the characteristics of the Mande-tan tribes. They are well proportioned; many are tall of stature; in color they vary from light brown to dark. Their chief occupations are farming and trading, and in the past they have dealt in slaves extensively. They are superior intellectually and are one of the most progressive groups in the native population. Most of them have adopted Mohammedanism, and a goodly number of their learned men (called mali) can read and write Arabic. But they possess also their own system of writing, which was invented by a Vai man named Dualu Bukere less than a hundred years ago. Though it is somewhat cumbersome and has developed into several

local variations, it has acquired a certain popularity.

Tribes speaking Mande-fu languages are, in Liberia: the Kpelle, Loma, Weima, Gbande, Gbunde, Mano and Gio. These all speak dialects of one language, as the main stock of these tribes is Kpelle, and the Kpelle dialect has been reduced to writing by Europeans. It could become predominant, and the inter-relation of the dialects is indeed so loose that books written in Kpelle can readily be understood by members of the other tribes. The Kpelle is thus by far the most important native idiom in Liberia.

Colonies of Mende are also met with in many parts of western Liberia. The Mande-fu people, though speaking Mandingo languages, are in their outward appearance and in their civilization more closely united with the Kru group than with the Mande-tan. They are of dark complexion, with strongly developed lips and cheek bones and stout figures, though occasionally, and particularly among chiefs, a finer physique may be seen. They live by farming, hunting and fishing. Trade is but poorly developed. A certain amount of their crops of palm oil, palm kernels, rubber, and piassava is sold to white merchants on the coast. Though most of these people live in a rather primitive state, they will be an important factor in the future development of the country. They are physically strong, accustomed to regular farm work and have generally proved good and enduring laborers wherever they are employed.

This great middle group of tribes should go by

the name of Kpelle. Their neighbors call them Kpwessi or Pessy, but they deserve to be called by their own name. They are good farmers, work in iron, and have their Poro societies for men and Sande for women. The Buzi, who live on the extreme border of the French territory are warlike people who are more recently settling down to farming. In the east are related groups, the Gio, Mano, and others, resulting from mixtures of the Kpelle and Mandingo stocks with the Krus.

THE GOLA AND THE GIZI

In the northwestern part of Liberia, between the Kpelle, Mende and Vai, live the Gola and the Kissi or Gizi. They belong linguistically to the West Atlantic language group, whose characteristic feature is the division of the nouns into classes by means of prefixes and suffixes, in a manner analogous to that of the Bantu languages. Of the Kissi little is known, but it is clear that the Gola are ethnically distinct from Mandingos as well as from the Kru people. They are of a lighter complexion and slender figure. Though they have, of course, frequently mingled with their neighbors, they have as a whole preserved their original features. They are warlike, proud, stubborn and show a strong dislike to manual work. In former times they acquired through raids a large number of slaves, many from the Kpelle, who did their farmwork for them. But as this source of labor is now stopped, they are gradually learning to do it themselves. Some of them cultivate the coffee

farms behind Monrovia. Even to-day they express the view that by natural right all Kpelle people are born slaves of the Gola. The Gola likes to marry a Kpelle girl, but he is averse to his daughter marrying a Kpelle man, though such cases do occur. If one addresses a Gola in Kpelle, he will reply in Gola though he knows Kpelle perfectly well.

CHAPTER III

NATIONAL GROWTH

BOUNDARY DIFFICULTIES

The boundaries of Liberia have long been in dispute, and were not definitely settled until the year 1927. Like all colonies on the West Coast, the claims to title were based upon treaties made with African chiefs. These chiefs frequently did not realize what they were doing in ceding territory, and many of them had no authority to alienate tribal lands. However, Liberia's title is as good as that of the British to Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, or of the French and the Belgians to their great empires in West and Central Africa, or of the early English colonists, for that matter, to the settlements in America. It was merely the case of a superior civilization backed by superior arms securing possession of territory occupied by a weaker group; only, in the case of Liberia, it was one group of black people dealing with another.

In most cases the approach was made through written agreements between the Governments and the native chiefs, in which the latter in consideration of gifts and trinkets, and the promise of protection from their enemies, gave permission to trade or to occupy territory. The fact that the Liberian Gov-

ernment was weak in the early days, and unable to fulfill its pledges and put down intertribal wars, is no reflection upon the good intentions of those officials who were struggling against great odds to maintain a stable government.

The West Coast of Africa has been known to the countries of the Mediterranean from the dim days of antiquity. There are found in the traditions of the people of the Mediterranean waters strange tales of the hairy men or "gorillas," who inhabited the country beyond the Pillars of Hercules. The early Carthaginians had settlements on the North and West Coast of Africa, in what is now Morocco, and it seems quite certain that Hanno made a trip with a number of vessels to visit these settlements about 500 B. C. An account of his voyages is still preserved. He came down the West Coast with his fleet for trading purposes and discovery. He may have reached Sierra Leone or even Liberia, for he speaks of a "mountain of fire" which could have referred to the hillsides covered with blazing brush—the natives even now burn off their farmlands in the dry season —or possibly, as some believe, to the volcano in the Cameroons.

He was probably followed a few centuries later by Greek and Roman adventurers, who came as far as the Senegal, but from the beginning of the Christian era to the coming of the Norman adventurers from Dieppe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Negro West Africa does not appear to have had any connection with the Caucasian world. Shut off from the Sudan on the east by the tall forests and heavy

jungles, and from northern Africa by the Sahara desert, there was very little opportunity for the penetration of any white civilization from the Mediterranean coasts.

The Canary Islands were visited by Norman and Genoese sailors in the early part of the 14th century, and gradually these adventurous seamen made their way down the West Coast in search of the "River of Gold."

In 1351 the general shape of the Guinea Coast was fairly well known. On a map painted at that time, the location of Cape Palmas, in what is now Liberia, was shown with a fair degree of accuracy, as was also the Bight of Benin, and the turn of the continent towards the south. In 1365, the Normans are said to have founded a settlement at Grand Bassa, which they named "Petit Dieppe" after their home port in western France. Whether they did so or not, the French used it as a partial basis for their claims to a part of the Kru Coast 500 years later, when they deprived Liberia of some of her territory in Maryland County.

A century after the Normans came the Portuguese, first for discovery, then for trade. In 1461 Pedro da Sintra located and named Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado, casting anchor about sixteen miles to the eastward of this last named point. He was visited by some natives who came out in canoes to greet him. In each canoe there were two or three men "quite naked," carrying pointed spears, darts, javelins, bows, and here and there a shield of leather. Their ears and noses were pierced and their teeth

were sharpened to a point. They spoke a language which the Portuguese were utterly unable to understand. One of their number was taken forcibly by the visitors and carried back with them to show to their king. This was probably the first inhabitant of the present territory of Liberia to make a visit to Europe. He was given presents and probably returned with da Sintra the next year, when he explored the coast as far possibly as Cape Palmas and the Cavalla River. (Sir Harry Johnston).

The Portuguese were great navigators and great traders. To one of their number, Vasco da Gama, belongs the credit of first sailing round the Cape of Good Hope in 1497. Columbus is said to have made several voyages with these navigators to the Coast of Guinea, and may have set foot upon Liberian soil. The Portuguese established colonies up and down the coast, and intermarried with native women. As recently as the beginning of the 19th century we find their mulatto descendants speaking Portuguese and engaging in trade on the Senegal, the Gambia, in Sierra Leone and as far as the borders of Liberia. In spite of this, however, their influence has practically disappeared from the West Coast, with the exception of the geographical names which they have given to the coast places. Their only records can now be traced in such words as "palaver," "Oporto" (meaning "white man") and a few others which persist in West African dialects. In Liberia we have records of their occupation in such names as Cape Mount, Cape Mesurado, Cape Palmas, Piccaninny Cess, and the Cavalla, the St. Paul and the

St. John Rivers. During their intercourse with the foreigners the Vais and the Kru boys learned to speak Portuguese, and later, Dutch and English. Some writers aver that at the beginning of the 17th century the Liberian natives had become tri-lingual, speaking all three languages of the European traders.

Sir Harry Johnston says that the West Coast is indebted to the Portuguese for the introduction of many of its domestic plants and animals: the orange tree, the lime, the cocoanut palm, the pineapple, paw-paw, Chili pepper and tobacco, among plants; the hog and the duck among domestic animals.

But the Portuguese monopoly in West Coast trade was not uncontested. The lure of gold, grain (pepper), ivory and slaves, brought western Europe in their wake. Dutch, Spanish, French and English adventurers came in turn, and disputed with the Portuguese for the trade of the Guinea Coast. The Dutch drove out the Portuguese, and were later displaced by the British. By a chain of events too long to enumerate here, we find England and France today in possession of most of West Africa north of the Equator. The little Republic of Liberia is wedged in between British Sierra Leone on the west and French Guinea and the Ivory Coast on the other sides and is the only break in the chain of European domination in this part of the continent.

To these two powerful neighbors Liberia has lost territory from time to time, and it is little wonder that its people have regarded with suspicion the offers for concessions made by traders and capi-

talists from these countries in the past. Happily there is ground for hope these days are over, and that reputable capital can be welcomed in the little Republic for much needed development.

RELATIONS WITH NATIVE PEOPLES

The first period covering the relations between the colonists and natives may be described as one of hostility. When the early settlers arrived, they were temporarily welcomed by the native chiefs, who did not fully understand their mission. When it was discovered, however, that the colony was being founded for the purpose of interfering with their profitable slave trade and smuggling, the chiefs immediately assumed a different attitude. Veiled hostility rapidly developed into attack; the colonists at Monrovia, Grand Bassa and Maryland County suffered as the result.

The early history is marked by the endeavors of Lott Carey, Jehudi Ashmun, Elijah Johnson, J. J. Roberts, Benjamin Russwurm and others to repel the attacks of the African chiefs. These chiefs were often prompted and sometimes aided by British and Spanish slave smugglers. When Ashmun led the attack on the natives at Grand Bassa, he found that the Spaniards had garrisoned the native fortress so as to prevent the colonists from interfering with their slave trade.

On the other hand the colonists were aided by armed schooners sent by Great Britain and America to put down slave smuggling, so that we find indi-

vidual efforts arrayed on both sides. In the long run the colonists were successful, and the natives were forced to acknowledge the strength, if not the authority, of the Liberian Government.

The second period may be defined as one of penetration. As time went on, the natives made friends with the colonists. They accepted the fact that the Liberians were there to establish orderly government and realized that it was not possible to drive them away. But the chiefs remained practically independent in their authority, and while recognizing the supremacy of the Liberian Government, would not grant it permission to penetrate into the interior.

The colonists were hemmed in on a narrow fringe along the coast. It was known that beyond the forest belt, which extended inland for about 200 miles, there dwelt the prosperous tribes of the Mandingo nation, the remnants of the ancient kingdom of Melle, which once held sway in the Sudan and along the banks of the Niger. It was highly desirable that trade routes be opened up with these people of the interior, but the native chiefs of the forest belt would not grant permission for Liberian officials or traders to traverse their territory. These chiefs had lived largely through slavery, smuggling, and trading; if there was to be any contact with the peoples of the interior, they wished to be the middlemen.

The native tribes improved in civilization as the hinterland was approached. On the edge of the Mandingo plateau a thriving trade was carried on between natives and Mandingo merchants in rice,

kola nuts, indigo, cotton and other products. For want of a market, these products were taken northward overland by traders through the Sudan and in spite of all offers, the native chiefs for many years resisted the advances of the civilized Liberians.

ANDERSON'S JOURNEY TO MUSAHDU

Very little definite information was available regarding these people of the hinterland. The interior of Liberia still remained the least known part of Africa. In 1858 President Benson sent two Liberians, Seymour and Ashe, into the interior for purposes of discovery. A description of their journey was published in England in 1860, in the proceedings of the *Royal Geographical Society.* In 1868, Benjamin J. K. Anderson, a young Liberian official and surveyor, was supplied with funds by American friends, chiefly Henry N. Schieffelin, and started on a journey to the nominal Liberian frontier, whence he headed for Musahdu, the capital of the western Mandingos. It took him thirteen months to complete his journey there and back, though it should have been made in sixty days. He made a second journey six years later, in 1874. The reports of both expeditions are vivid in their descriptions of the native tribes and of the hardships which he was forced to undergo. The journey, intended to further establish Liberia's claims to the hinterland, and to make friendly alliances with the chiefs in the interior, was fraught with political possibilities. Some French writers, however, claimed that Anderson's reports

were unreliable, and even question whether he ever reached Musahdu. However, the records of the two journeys speak for themselves, and it cannot be seriously questioned that each expedition was successful.

In his first report Anderson gives a graphic description of some of the native chiefs. They were wily old fellows, who placed every obstacle in his way. He was detained in villages; pilfered of his goods with the connivance of some of the chiefs; his men were encouraged to desert him. The journey had to be made on foot, his goods being transported on the heads of native carriers. His stores consisted of a number of bundles, or kinjahs, containing articles with which to trade in return for services and supplies along the way, and also presents for the chiefs. He was forced to wade through swollen streams, he was ill part of the time with fever, and he was sometimes in danger of attack, but he finally completed his journey and was cordially received by the Chief at Musahdu, quite a different type of man from the native chiefs along the route.

Anderson had some difficulties with native chiefs on his return trip, but he was able to reach Monrovia safely and report to the President. At that time the Liberian Government possessed neither arms nor men sufficient to open a route to the interior border, and in spite of a second trip, made a few years later, the effects of his two successful journeys were lost to the Liberian Government.

An account of the first expedition was printed by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington in 1870

and made available for distribution to the public. The account of the second expedition was reprinted privately from the files of local papers by Professor Frederick Starr upon his visit to Liberia in 1912. The selections quoted in this chapter are taken from the first account.

On his first journey Anderson attempted to go by way of Boporu, where there was a large colony of Mandingo emigrants; but every obstacle was placed in his way by the native chiefs. He was first turned aside to the southwest and forced to visit a chief by the name of Bessa or Gbessi. Describing the country through which he traveled he says:

"These hills grow bolder and more conspicuous in outline as we advance in the interior. Sometimes linked together by gentle depressions, and sometimes entirely detached from each other, they form no definite range; rising and running toward every point of the compass, they present all the varieties of figure and direction that hills can assume.

"Their composition, so far as could be discerned from their surface, was the ordinary vegetable mold, with bowlders of iron ore, granite, white quartz, and a mixed detritus from these various rocks, charged in many places with thin-leaved mica, similar to that which is seen in the Clay Ashland hills.

"Before we reached the margin of the Boporu, or Boatswain country, we passed through long and almost unbroken strips of forests upon a road partaking of the uneven character of the country, and strewn for miles with sharp pebbles and vitreous quartz, rendering travel painful enough to the un-

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shodden pedestrian. Huge bowlders of granite were dispersed here and there, relieving the gloom and monotony of large, shady forest trees. This region is intersected with numerous streams flowing over sandy bottoms or granite beds, with a temperature of 58°, 60°, and 62° Fahrenheit.

"On Saturday, the 13th of March, 1868, we left Manneenah, and after traveling forty miles westward, we reached Bessa's town, at six o'clock p. m.

DESCRIPTION OF A NATIVE TOWN

"Bessa's town is in latitude 7° 3′ 19″, in the western portion of the Gola country. It is elevated about four hundred and eighty feet above the level of the sea. This town is located in a small, irregular plain, studded with palm-trees, and hedged in by hills in nearly every direction. It is strongly fortified with a double barricade of large wooden stakes; in the space between each barricade sharp-pointed stakes, four feet long, are set obliquely in the ground, crossing each other; this is to prevent the defenses from being scaled. The town is of an oval form; the north and south points resting on the edge of swamps; the east and west points, which are the points of access, are flanked with a strong quadrilateral stockade, with four intervening gates between the outside gate and the town itself. There are guard-houses to each of these gates, and people constantly in them night and day. To a force without artillery this town would give some trouble. It contains about three hundred and fifty clay dwell-

ings, of various sizes, and between eight hundred and one thousand inhabitants, who may be regarded as the permanent population. Of the transient traders and visitors it would be difficult to form any estimate. The houses are huddled together in a close and most uncomfortable proximity; in some parts of the town scarcely two persons can walk abreast. In matters of cleanliness and health, King Bessa can not be said to have seriously consulted the interests of his people.

"Bessa himself is a personage well known to one of our best citizens, Mr. Gabriel Moore. He is of Mandingo extraction. I regret, however, to say that he is deplorably wanting in that sedateness and religious cast of feeling which usually forms the distinguishing characteristic of that tribe.

"I was informed that he had purchased a dispensation from the rigid observances of that creed from some of the Mandingo priests, by paying a large amount of money. This license to do evil so affected our journey to Musahdu, that it came nearly breaking up the expedition altogether.

"It was on a Friday we arrived in this town—a day said to be always inauspicious. We introduced ourselves as being sent to him by one of his own countrymen, Kaifal Kanda, a Mandingo, living at Vannswah, with whom we were going to Musahdu.

"He affected to listen with great attention; spoke of the commotions in the interior, which, as he said, was a great obstacle and hindrance to all persons traveling just at that time. He also informed me that he would have to consult the other kings behind

him before allowing me to pass; and he kept on creating difficulty after difficulty, all reasonable and fair enough in argument, but point-blank lies in fact. He had no consulting to do; for he was at that time at variance with the principal neighboring chiefs.

"I was not pleased with my first audience, yet I was induced to make Bessa the following presents: three bars of tobacco, one double barreled pistol, one large brass kettle, one piece of fancy handkerchiefs, and one keg of powder. This gift was received with satisfaction, but it was hinted that the king was anxious to trade with me for the rest of my money. I had, therefore, to distinctly state that I did not wish to trade, as that would prevent me from accomplishing the object for which I had come, namely, to go to Musahdu.

A CRAFTY CHIEF

"Bessa now began to show how much he disliked the idea of my passing through his country, and carrying so much money 'behind him' as he expressed it. He offered me his fat bullocks, country cloths, palm-oil, ivory, etc.; but I steadily refused to trade. Finding me inexorable in that respect, he began to grumble about the 'dash' or gifts, I had made him. Some mischievous persons had told him that the gifts were insignificant to what it was the custom of Liberians to 'dash,' or present to the kings; and Jollah, my interpreter, had some difficulty to persuade the king to the contrary; besides, he had his own reasons for remaining so incredulous.

"I had now struck the line of obstruction at this point. It was upon my refusal to go to Boporu that Kaifal had sent me to Bessa's town. Bessa, in carrying out this policy of non-intercourse with the interior, which is a standing, well-known, and agreed-upon thing throughout the whole country, now commenced a series of annoyances, his people acting in concert with him. He began with my Congo porters. Every means that language and signs could produce was used to frighten and discourage them. They were told of the wars in the path. He also showed some Buzis whom he had in his town, whose faces were disfigured with hideous tattoo-marks, and whose front teeth were filed sharp and pointed, for the purpose of eating people; their long bows and poisoned arrows; their broad knives and crooked iron hooks, with which they caught and hewed to pieces those whom they pursued. But what alarmed my Congoes more than anything else, was the prospect of being eaten by the Buzis. Bessa, to make this part more vividly horrible, had brought into our presence several of his man-eaters, who were said to delight in that business. He then brought in his war-drums, the heads of which were made of the skins of human beings, well tanned and corded down, while a dozen grinning human jaw-bones were dangling and rattling against each other with a noise that reminded my Congoes that their jaw-bones too might perform a similar office on some country war-drum. It was by such means that Bessa entirely succeeded in disorganizing the whole expedition. He gave the Congoes plainly to understand that they

had better not hazard their lives in attempting to follow me to Musahdu.

"My carriers, who had hitherto shown willingness and obedience, now began openly to disobey my orders; and my difficulty was greatly increased from the fact that I had not been able to get a single civilized person to accompany me. I had no one, in consequence, to confer with, or to assist me in watching the movements of my mutinous Congoes. It soon became evident that there was an understanding between my Congoes and Bessa, and that all hands were conspiring together against me. Several times I had detected Bessa and the Congoes in secret consultation. I guessed at once the villainy hatching. I tried every means to induce the Congoes to disregard the idle tales that were told them by Bessa and his people; but neither advice, persuasion, nor the offer of donations above their pay could overcome the impression that had been made upon their minds respecting the dangers of the route. Big Ben, the Krooman, kept himself aloof from the plots of the Congoes, yet he was in favor of returning to Monrovia; and he made my ears ring with 'S'pose we no find good path; we go back now.' The Congoes began to hold secret meetings by themselves, and to talk in a low, muttering tone. Matters were now brewing to some mischievous point; but what their resolves were, I could never learn. With my Congoes in open rupture, Bessa himself drunk, avaricious, and conspiring, I had to exercise the greatest vigilance.

"Bessa is naturally avaricious. This vice was un-

fortunately worked up to its worst resource; he drank night and day, until he had sufficiently steamed himself up to the courage for downright robbery. Drunk he gets every day; and after the first two or three hours of excess are over, he finally sobers down to that degree at which his avarice is greatest, and his regard for other people's rights least. There he remains.

"His couch, upon which he reclines, and which is at once his bed and his chair of state, he never quits, but for a drunken carousal in the midst of his women. This bed is stacked head and foot with loaded muskets, huge horse-pistols, rusty swords and spears, while sundry daggers, with their points stuck in the ground, are ready at hand 'for the occasion sudden.' He seems to live in perpetual dread of assassination. His people never come into his presence except in an obsequious stoop, and they never recover an erect posture until they are out of his presence. But when the women came, then you could expect to see humanity go about on all fours. It was difficult to know the height of some of the women on account of this servility.

"Bessa is engaged in the slave-trade. Passing one morning through his town, I saw a slave with his right hand tied up to his neck, and fifty sticks of salt fastened to his back, about to be sent into the interior to be exchanged for a bullock. Six slaves, chained together, worked on his farms. He had numerous other slaves, but they were better treated.

"I will not relate all the circumstances of his lashing an old slave until his cries drew the tears of all

who stood by, nor his stamping in the breast of one of his slaves until death ensued, on account of some slight offense. His enormities are too many to recount them all, and would only weary the reader with what they know must be his habits, from what I have already said of him. He regretted to me the interference of the Liberians with the foreign slave-trade.

"The slave population is supposed to treble the number of free persons. They are purchased chiefly from the Pessy, Buzi and other tribes. Many are reduced to the condition of slaves, by being captured in war. Their chief labor is to perform the service of carriers for their masters in the trade of salt and country cloths carried on between Boporu and Vannswah, on the St. Paul River, near the civilized settlements."

A SLAVE UPRISING

Two years before Anderson's visit there had been an uprising of slaves, which he describes as follows:

"In the latter part of 1866, at the death of Torsu, King Momoru's uncle, it became necessary to settle some debts pertaining to Torsu's estate. His relatives, in order to pay off the claims, attempted to sell some of his slaves. These slaves were staying at a town called Musadalla's town, southwest of Boporu. The attempt was resisted; some blood was shed; and a general revolt took place, in which all the slaves in the town determined to defend each other to the last extremity. They took full possession of the town, renewed the barricades, seized

upon whatever arms were at hand, and made such other preparations as greatly alarmed their masters. This rebellion had long been purposed upon; the death of Torsu and the attempt to sell some of their number, served as a favorable opportunity to achieve their freedom.

"On the first outbreak, King Momoru sent them word to return to their former obedience, assuring them that he would overlook all past offenses. But while they were deliberating as to what answer they should return, one of their women publicly harangued them against listening to any proposals for reconciliation; saying that King Momoru only wished to induce them to submit, that he might the more easily punish them; and that if their hearts began to quail, they had better give their spears into the hands of the women.

"This speech instantly made them determined to stand fast in their first resolution. Refusing all offers of compromise they sought to strengthen their cause by purchasing the assistance of the Bundi people, who were at that time at variance with the people at Boporu. But the Boporu people had also managed, despite their difference with the Bundi people, to engage their services against the slaves. The Bundi war chief received the gifts of both parties; and in two weeks' time repaid the poor slaves with treachery enough to chop off their heads.

"Arming himself and his people, he set out for Musadalla's town, and was admitted by his unsuspecting victims. After he had rested from his journey, and refreshed himself and his followers at the

expense of their generosity, he proposed to review their numbers and their arms. Pretending to be earnestly enlisted in their affairs, he bade them lay down their arms on the ground, or, as we term it, 'ground arms,' that he might the better judge of their efficiency. The poor, credulous fools, by no means suspecting any perfidy, readily did as they were bidden. At a given signal from the Bundi chief, his own people instantly drew their swords and bestrode the weapons of the poor slaves that lay upon the ground.

"Thus disarmed, they were quickly enslaved again, seized, bound, and led out of the gates to the town of their betrayer, who at once sent word to Momoru that he had caught the 'slave dogs.' He was rewarded, or rather he rewarded himself, by keeping all the women and children, sending to Momoru only the men and our heroine who, by her speech, had so greatly encouraged the action. It was determined in council that the slaves should suffer the penalty of death.

"On the morning of the execution they were demanded to say who were the chief instigators of the revolt; but the poor creatures had little to say. They were led out of the eastern gate, two hundred yards from which, and in the same direction, stands a huge cotton-tree (bombax)—the place of execution. They came down the path naked, and in single file, with their hands bound behind them. As the first person came on, the executioner with his broad and gleaming knife ran to meet him, and with dexterous cruelty mutilated him. After allowing him to bleed and beg

awhile, he was snatched down to the foot of the tree, his head hacked off and tossed into a ditch on one side of the road; while the yet quivering trunk was thrown into a cat-fish pond hard by.

"The woman was executed with circumstances shocking to humanity and decency. All the women in Boporu were compelled to go out and witness her fate.

"But to the chief of this revolt it was reserved to be buried alive, heels up and head down, and a sharp stake, eight feet long driven through his body level with the ground, and a tree planted over him. Their skulls now form a ghastly adornment to the eastern gate; and I have seen many persons go up to them and identify an acquaintance.

"It seems to be the practice in every town where the water favors it to have cat-fish pools. The fish are not allowed to be disturbed; they are not only the consumers of the offal of the town, but from their shark-like and snappish manner, a more fearful office can well be suspected. They are from one to three feet long, and will lie with patience and expectation in one spot all day long, their backs raw with scars, which their own ferocity leads them to inflict upon each other in their fierce struggle for food."

These fish described by Anderson were the sacred fish which are found in the vicinity of many native towns, and which are supposed to contain the departed spirits of the ancestors of the people who live in the village.

One cannot help being impressed with the changes

Headquarters of The District Commissioner at Sanoquelleh

The District Commissioner at Vonjama, with Young Leopard Cat He Had Killed

New Government Highway Leading out from Monrovia

Method of Travel by Hammock in the Interior

which have taken place during the last sixty years. The slave trade is dead, and except for a mild form of domestic service, there are few traces left. Where Anderson found a hostile band of chiefs constantly bickering with one another, but uniting to prevent the Liberian Government from penetrating into the interior, one now finds peaceful villages, with the people settled down to agriculture, and the chiefs recognizing the authority of the Liberian Government. The results have been brought about chiefly by peaceful penetration, with the assistance of a Frontier Force to maintain order.

EXTENDING AUTHORITY OVER NATIVE TRIBES

The third period of the dealings between the Liberian Government and the native tribes might be called the period of assimilation. As a result of the first Grebo War in Maryland County, the native tribes were brought to acknowledge the authority of the Liberian settlers. This was in 1857. The Maryland colonists had had a hard struggle and were impelled to call for aid from Monrovia. When the war was over they sought admission as a county in the new Republic of Liberia, realizing that their only hope of existence depended upon a united front of all the colonists towards the natives. From this period until 1915, there were constant intertribal wars between native groups.

The native African is clannish, and the whole life of his people in the past has been marred by intertribal bickerings and jealousies. In seeking to put

down these disputes the Liberian Government has often been brought into open conflict with the native tribes. One of the chief sources of trouble between the little colony and its powerful neighbors, England and France, has been the result of these raids, which the natives on the Liberian side of the border persisted in making against their enemies on the other side. Both the British Government in Sierra Leone, and the French colonies held the Liberian Government responsible for these disorders.

In 1904 there occurred what is known as the "Kanrelahun Affair," arising out of difficulties between the natives of the northwestern part of Liberia and those on the Sierra Leone side. As a result of long drawn out negotiations the British Government annexed a large and valuable tract of territory from northwestern Liberia offering in exchange some financial remuneration and another but less valuable area. Though very much opposed to this agreement, the Liberian Government, on account of its weakness, was forced to accept the terms.

In 1908 a direct appeal was made to America by the Liberians for the purpose of securing aid and assistance in the solution of some of their difficulties. In response to this appeal a commission from the United States was sent to Liberia to investigate conditions, the results of which were laid before Congress in a special message. Though no official action was taken by the government, American sympathy was aroused and better recognition of Liberia's rights was obtained before the world. The financial assistance rendered as a result of the recommenda-

tions of this commission is discussed in the chapter dealing with economic development.

Another result was that three Negro officers from the American army were sent to Liberia to assist in the organization of the Frontier Force. Colonel Charles B. Young, a splendid type of colored American was also detailed as military attaché to the American Legation at Monrovia. Through the work of the army officers and the influence of Colonel Young, an efficient frontier force was organized, which has been maintained in a creditable manner ever since.

Colonel Young's death through disease, brought about as a result of his devotion to duty, was a great loss, but his sacrifice has had valuable results, both in raising the prestige of Liberia in the eyes of native tribes and strengthening friendship between Liberia and America. The warlike natives among the Buzi and other tribes of northern Liberia have been brought under the subjection of the government. The chiefs have come to see the wisdom of acknowledging Liberian authority and the value of peaceful relations with their neighbors. For the past seven or eight years there have been no outbreaks, and one can travel in safety amongst practically all the tribes of the interior. This is quite a credit to Liberian diplomacy, as well as to its arms. Overtures have been made to native chiefs and every endeavor used to bring them into hearty coöperation with the government's program.

In 1915, after constant outbreaks between native clans along the Kru Coast, and repeated warnings

by the Government, there began what was known as the Kru War which continued for two years. Certain irresponsible natives, with the connivance of their chiefs, had frequently attacked Liberian officials and others pursuing their regular routine work along the Kru Coast. Foreign traders and parties landing were often robbed. The Liberian Government sent an expedition against the natives.

The American navy dispatched the *Chester* to Liberian waters, which transported some of the officials from Monrovia to Sinoe to treat with the natives. In the meanwhile the Frontier Force had captured a number of rebel chiefs, who were executed on Bafu Point, opposite Sinoe. As a result of this vigorous action, the insurrection was put down, and Liberian authority established again along the entire coast.

THE RISE OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT

Another development which is going on between the colonists and the native peoples may be known as absorption. Though limited to the narrow belt along the coast, the schools maintained by the missionaries, as well as by the Liberian Government have always welcomed the enrollment of native children. In fact the Liberians have regarded as one of their particular missions the extension of the benefits of civilization and of Christianity to the indigenous population. In spite of official differences between chiefs and government, there has always been a friendly attitude on the part of Libe-

rian families to native groups. It is an African characteristic that native families do not hesitate to give their children to missionaries, traders, or civilized families to bring up, and they have always encouraged their young people to assimilate the standards and culture of Europeans and American Negroes. As a result many Liberian families have "adopted" or received into their households a number of native children who have grown up more or less as a part of the family; sometimes intermarriage has taken place. As these native boys and girls have acquired education, they have come to fill posts of prominence, in the community, in the affairs of the Church, and also in the State. Many men who are outstanding in Liberian affairs to-day are of native birth. Among these might be mentioned, the Bishop Suffragan of the Episcopal Church, Dr. T. Momolu Gardiner, who was a son of a Vai chief; Hon. M. Masaquoi, now Liberian Consul-General at Hamburg; and Justice Baselow of the Liberian Supreme Court.

Other native Liberians have filled positions in the Cabinet, notably Dr. B. W. Payne, who is at present Secretary of Public Instruction and a native of the Maba tribe. In 1927 the Vice-President of the Republic was also a native, the Hon. Too Wesley, who is a member of the Grebo tribe from Maryland County.

By this quiet process of absorption which is taking place through the efforts of the schools, the Church and the public service, the native element is gradually being taken into the civilized community.

In this process lies the hope of Liberia. The little group of pioneers along the coast and their descendants, have influenced probably as many as 30,000 or 40,000 native people, who have assimilated their language, religion, culture and political ideals, so that in course of time there will be very little difference discernible between the educated native man and the descendant of the pioneers.

ADMINISTRATION OF NATIVE AREAS

Finally, the relationship of the government to the large number of people in the hinterland is an interesting problem. A discussion of this will be taken up more in detail in another chapter. It should be remembered, however, that the civilized Liberians have had a double problem, namely: the carrying on of stable government among themselves along the coast, as well as administering a large and valuable area of country in the interior, inhabited by a far greater number of native peoples. In this relationship the government has adopted the British system of administration, the native tribes being controlled by District Commissioners appointed by the Liberian Government.

All of this brings us to a number of questions for consideration.

In the coast settlements of the civilized Liberians the native element has been absorbed into the civic life of the community. Natives attend the church services and are amenable to the civil authorities and common law which govern the Liberians. A

short distance inland, and in most native villages along the coast, native communal life still exists, though there is a blending of native customs with Liberian law, the former holding good when not in conflict with statute law.

Civilized, that is, county, government extends inland from the coast for a nominal distance of forty miles. In a large part of this area, however, village life is still primitive and the authority of the chiefs is recognized.

Through contact with the civilized group there has, of course, been a gradual undermining of the old tribal customs in the areas near the civilized communities. The difficulty occurs where native law breaks down, and the freedom of the individual succeeds the old tribal restraints. The former rule of force gives way to individual initiative; it is left optional with the individual whether or not he will work, perform his religious obligations and conform to other voluntary acts current in civilized communities. The native Liberian brings with him a good tradition of industry and of respect for tribal or common law. During this inevitable period of adjustment there is often a set back in moral or social standards. It is important that while this transition takes place there should be—for the children at least of these people—some institution such as the school or the church to help bridge the gap and inculcate those habits of self-restraint on which the success of the new order of things depends.

This is evidenced by the complaints one often hears as to natives who live on the edge of civilized

communities. Many of them have drifted in from up-country and are trying to adjust themselves to the new life. Their shortcomings, be it said to their credit, are more often on the side of omissions of duties than of violations of prescribed custom. Instances of this are not infrequent in the areas around the settlements on the St. Paul River above Monrovia. Here there is a mixture of many groups in a community or school, sometimes as many as ten or twelve tribes being represented. It is these people, of course, who have the most difficult task of adjustment. One finds evidence of it in irregularity of work, fondness for dress, use of intoxicants, and complaints of the "brashness" or "independence," which sometimes occur. On the other hand, the general tone of the area is good, and the respect of the natives for Liberian law is remarkable.

Behind the county areas, the interior is divided into five administrative districts, each under the charge of a District Commissioner, who is a Liberian official appointed by the President. Their administrative duties fall under the authority of the Secretary of the Interior. In the past few years the native chiefs have been brought to recognize the authority of the Liberian Government, and on the whole are coöperating with it in the administering of the country.

Here native law is supreme in those things which are not in direct violation of the principles of good government. Tribal laws, family customs, polygamy and domestic slavery, institutions already in existence, are tolerated for the time being, as has

been done by the British in Sierra Leone. It will take a generation to reorganize the social order, and to eliminate certain institutions which are in conflict with more advanced ideals.

It is in the development of these native peoples and their absorption into the national life of Liberia that the great task of government will lie. In this undertaking, government will need as its allies the best efforts of the school and the church, coupled with a sympathetic understanding of the capacities and limitations of each ethnic group. The ideal should be a united Liberian people, with tribal animosities broken down, certain practices abhorrent to civilized ideals eliminated, and the best of the old life preserved. In the accomplishment of this task the government should draw to its aid many of the younger Liberians, who have come up from the ranks, and who will help their people to work out a common destiny.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

EARLY STAGES

In the early days of the colonists houses had to be erected, the forest cleared, gardens and fields planted. The colony soon became a self-sufficing community, raising most of its supplies based upon home industries. In Monrovia the colonists built substantial houses, patterned after those of the Southern planters whom they had left. The town, like the other settlements along the coast, was laid out in well-defined streets.

The native African has a keen sense for trade and barter, and the temptation to enter into trade with him rather than to further the production of commodities for home use and export was not to be resisted by the early settlers. Many of them established small trading houses or owned boats for trading along the coast. Jehudi Ashmun foresaw this tendency even during the two years he remained with the colonists, and warned them in his parting instructions of the dangers which would arise if the entire population fell into trading and barter instead of developing home production.

This mistake was scarcely to be avoided. Labor —that is, manual or agricultural labor—has never

been held in high esteem by the African. This is partly due to the fact that it was often performed by slaves. The experiences of the colonists in America, where slavery was also an institution, did little to raise manual labor in their estimation. There was also a plentiful supply of cheap labor—that is of native labor—to be had in the new colony. The native Africans of Liberia were not averse to performing work for small remuneration. They constituted a peon class which was easy to obtain. The colonists developed rapidly into the leisured planter class of the old South, living in comfortable homes while the work on the plantations was performed by native labor. Having come to Africa to escape slavery, the settlers did not feel enthusiastic about engaging in manual labor which had been associated with slavery.

There were other considerations also. Trade offered quick returns to those who cared to engage in it. It was only in after years that the unwisdom of this policy became apparent, when the country from lack of proper attention ceased to produce the supplies demanded for its subsistence and development.

So much time and energy were devoted to founding the new state that political issues absorbed a large part of the attention of the colonists. The development and management of churches was also an important function in their new life. It is therefore little to be wondered at that the Church and Government service and law became popular professions in addition to those of planter and trader. In these

professions also fixed pensions were regularly paid. Half unconsciously the Liberians had reproduced the social order of the old South upon the shores of Africa. This is an interesting parallel.

War upset the social organization of the Southern States, and the transformation there from a civilization built up by the planter aristocracy into a manufacturing and commercial way of life has been rapid. In the South, the plantations have been broken up—agricultural labor is no longer despised, and white and black alike are learning that a true democracy based upon labor and service offers greater happiness to the whole group than did the former civilization.

The Liberians will learn all this in time. Already there are signs of change, especially as the native element rises in importance with its independence of the earlier traditions.

COLONIAL LIFE

One gets a pleasant picture of Liberian life as reported in the publications of the New York State Colonization Society about 1858. The first National Fair in the Republic had been held at Monrovia the year before. Stephen A. Benson was president at the time. Acting under authorization from the Legislature he appointed a committee to arrange plans for the holding of the fair, and another committee to pass upon the awards. The Legislature also appropriated the sum of $500 to cover expenses. Over four hundred articles in five departments were

exhibited, and premiums amounting to more than $300 were awarded.

The Committee says in its report:

"The excitement incidental to the occasion, and the assemblage from all parts of Liberia, showed the wisdom of the Committee of Arrangements in their selection of a suitable place in which to hold the Fair. The Academy building and premises of the Methodist Episcopal Mission were procured for the occasion. The spacious rooms and apartments of this building were crowded with the articles on exhibition, while the enclosed premises afforded a fit arena for the cattle, the swine, the sheep, and the goats.

"It is with no ordinary degree of pleasure and satisfaction that the Committee mention the harmony, order, and gratification of all who witnessed the scene.

"The number and variety of articles of horticulture, agriculture, manufacture, mechanism, needlework, etc., surpassed the most sanguine anticipations of the Committee, and, they think, of all who enjoyed the opportunity of witnessing the first National Fair of Liberia.

"Many of the productions of agriculture gave ample proof of the fertility of the soil of the country, and of the cheering fact—no longer to be denied—that the industrious need not despair of the support from this source, which a bountiful Providence has ever been willing to bestow upon such.

"Among the articles of this class, there were specimens of the far-famed Liberia coffee—quite equal to the expectation of the Committee. There were specimens of starch, of different qualities, manufactured from the arrow-root, the cassava, the African lily, and the eddoe."

The Committee closed its report by recommending that the fair be made a national event and that the next year's premiums be offered to cover exhibits in cotton, coffee, sugar, syrup, rice, arrow-root, gin-

ger and cocoa. This gives an idea of the latent possibilities in the soil, and the extent to which agriculture had been developed up till 1860.

One also gets a picture of the social life of the people. The leaders had developed much of the cultural side in their civilization. Schools, while few, stressed the classical studies and languages. The English language received a great deal of attention and one admires the fine diction and polished phrases in which these early reports and papers of the civilized Liberians were written. Dr. E. W. Blyden, one of the most noted scholars on the West Coast and President of Liberia College, was the typical leader of the period.

Coffee had become the chief money crop of Liberia; upon its cultivation and marketing much of the prosperity of the country depended. Sugar cane and other farm crops were being grown. It had been demonstrated that cotton would do well, but its cultivation was never extensively developed. Livestock and poultry were produced to a considerable degree.

The second period in Liberia's economic history began about 1875, and lasted till the outbreak of the World War. This may be noted as a period of decline. The price of coffee fell sharply owing to the development of the coffee industry in Brazil and the small care taken in preparing Liberia's product for the market. After a few years the planters found themselves unable to grow coffee at a profit. The native laborers could no longer be paid. Liberian coffee was a drug on the market. The coffee

plantations fell into decay. Planters forsook them and moved to town. Political questions absorbed more and more of their attention. Government service, politics and law became the chief professions. The old warehouses and trading centers fell into ruins. The second generation could no longer keep up the properties which they had received from their fathers. At Cape Palmas, Edina, Lower Buchanan and Sinoe, the crumbling ruins of former storehouses and large dwellings are mute witnesses even to-day of the depression which overtook the economic life of the country.

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES AND LOANS

About 1870 Liberia felt the need of undertaking public works, and of opening up the interior to commerce, as her volume of trade was very small with the outside world. Consequently a loan of $500,000 was negotiated with some English bankers. Lack of experience, as well as some other things gave a disastrous turn to the proceedings. After certain deductions and the payment of three years' interest in advance, about $135,000 was all that ever reached Liberia of the original amount. The loan was secured by a lien on part of the customs receipts.

The economic situation went from bad to worse. There was very little revenue coming in for the Government, owing to the lack of prosperity in the country. Outsiders came from time to time seeking concessions and suggesting loans. Though tenacious in safeguarding their political independence the

Liberians granted concessions from time to time which never turned out successfully.

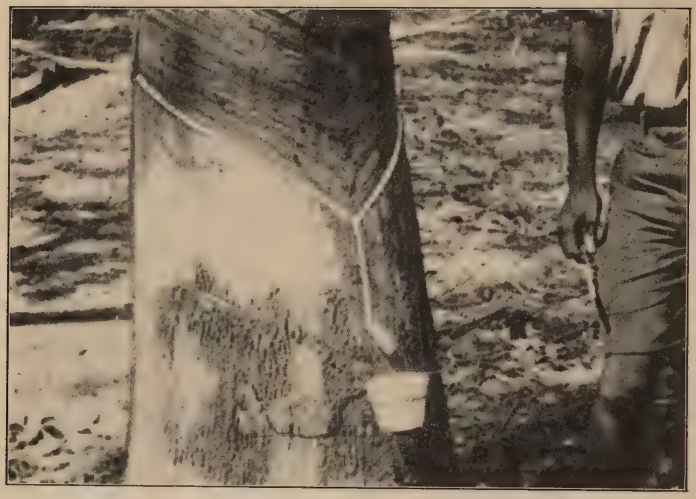
In 1906 the Liberian Development Company, an English corporation which had received certain mining and trading concessions, succeeded in fastening upon the little republic another loan. The Government entered into partnership with the corporation for the financing of a loan of $500,000 at six per cent interest. Under the terms of the loan, the collection of the entire customs was placed under European supervision. Through mismanagement and bad business ventures on the part of the Company, the loan proved to be of little worth to Liberia and about $200,000 of the money obtained on the credit of the Government is said to have been frittered away by the Development Company. Friction arose with the Company officials. In 1908 matters had come to such a pass that President Barclay severed connection with the Company. Pocketing their losses, the Liberians philosophically shouldered the burden of the debt in order to be rid of the Company.

Boundary difficulties with her two powerful neighbors were also troubling the country. Great Britain was threatening to take over her government and France was talking of absorbing another slice of her territory. Conditions were desperate; so the little country sent a commission to America to appeal to the United States for protection.

The expedition aroused interest, and at least served notice that America might become interested enough to render some assistance. The Commission was favorably received in the United States, and in

Drying Liberian Coffee on the Ground Near Careysburg

The Beach at Grand Cess
Bundles of Piassava fiber and sacks of palm kernels awaiting shipment



TAPPING A RUBBER TREE AT THE MOUNT BARCLAY PLANTATION OF THE FIRESTONE COMPANY

SCENE ON THE FIRESTONE RUBBER PLANTATION
Native laborers bringing in the day's run of rubber latex

1909 Mr. Elihu Root, at that time Secretary of State, recommended to the President that a commission of three persons be sent to Liberia "to investigate the interests of the United States and its citizens in the Republic of Liberia."

The Commission was appointed and made an extensive visit and study of Liberian conditions. In the report the following recommendations were made:

1. That the United States extend its aid to Liberia in the prompt settlement of pending boundary disputes.
2. That the United States enable Liberia to refund its debt by assuming as a guarantee for the payment of obligations under such arrangement the control and collection of the Liberian customs.
3. That the United States lend its assistance to the Liberian Government in the reform of its internal finances.
4. That the United States should lend its aid to Liberia in organizing and drilling adequate constabulary or frontier police force.
5. That the United States should establish and maintain a research station in Liberia.
6. That the United States reopen the question of establishing a naval coaling station in Liberia.

President Taft transmitted this report to Congress. While not followed up as a whole, two of the recommendations were put into effect, namely: the Frontier Force was reorganized, under the leadership of colored officers from the American army, who were lent to the Liberian Government, and Americans assisted in helping to bring about a reorganization of the finances and a consolidation of the foreign loans.

Under the terms of the agreement, the Liberian Government was advanced the sum of $1,700,000 by a group of international bankers to cover its public debts, and the loan was guaranteed by a lien on the customs receipts. An American General Receiver of Customs was appointed by the Liberian president, who was also to be Financial Adviser to the Liberian Republic. He was assisted by three receivers, one each from England, France and Germany. At the close of the World War, the receivers from the other three countries retired, and the receivership was turned over entirely to the management of the American.

During the World War Liberia came into the struggle on the side of the Allies, and did its bit towards the war. A German submarine appeared off Monrovia, shelled the French wireless station, killed several natives, and sank the only gunboat belonging to the Liberian Government. A number of German citizens were interned. At the Peace Negotiations in Paris, President-elect C. D. B. King, who had served his country as Secretary of State, ably represented his Government at the Peace Conference, and largely through his statesmanship Liberia was admitted to membership in the League of Nations as one of the independent governments.

The West Coast of Africa suffered greatly from the effects of the war. Shipping was interrupted and supplies cut off. Liberia fared like the rest and there was great financial depression. An appeal was again made to America. As a part of its war policies President Wilson had granted Liberia a credit of

$5,000,000, but the terms were so fixed for the administration of the loan that Liberians felt they were unable to accept them, and only a small amount of the money was ever used.

Conditions became so desperate that President-elect King came to America for the purpose of reopening negotiations with the Government for a loan of five million dollars. Congress failed to ratify the agreement, and Liberia was left hanging in the balance. Affairs seemed to have reached the depth of depression during the period of post-war adjustment. The people suffered for lack of food supplies, prices were high, and the morale of the Government was at a low ebb.

IMPROVED CONDITIONS

But it is a long lane that has no turning. With the revival of trade upon the West Coast, the reestablishment of steamship lines, and the competition of Germany, England, Holland, France and other European countries for African products, Liberia began to share in the growing prosperity. The people took stock of themselves, and began to see the need for commercial development and the opening up of the interior to trade. More and more they realized the importance of the native peoples in the general scheme of national development. The President made an extended tour of the interior districts, established better relations with the native chiefs, and continued the policy initiated by his predecessors of extending the prestige of the Gov-

ernment over the native tribes. While the time is too short for results to have become evident, the importance of this action will be felt in the future.

We now come to a consideration of the present economic conditions in Liberia, which have their beginnings in the post-war period.

The Peace Conference had done much to focus the attention of the world upon Africa. The World War owes some of its origin to the jealousies engendered by the scramble for colonial possessions which resulted in the virtual partition of Africa by the powers under the terms of the Treaty of Berlin, 1885. It was coming to be known that the Dark Continent possessed rich agricultural lands and enormous stores of wealth in gold and diamonds, in coffee, rubber and other forest products, and in addition a great source of wealth lay in human labor. The continent was divided up among the powers, to be administered according to their own desires, and Liberia alone remained in African hands. Weak politically, with its great natural resources in need of development, it is a wonder that the country survived as an independent nation.

At first it was hoped by European countries that parts of Africa might serve for colonization by their surplus populations. It was soon demonstrated that this was generally impracticable, owing to unfavorable climate and the presence of tropical diseases, which made the country unattractive for European habitation. While certain parts of East and South Africa can undoubtedly be made habitable for white people, the fact remains that large areas in Central

and West Africa will, for a long time at least, be dependent for development upon the black people who inhabit them. There will of course, be need for European direction for some time to come, since Africans lack both the experience and the capital necessary for the development of their territories. But whatever the difficulties the vast resources to be found in Africa are needed for European commerce and manufacture and cannot be overlooked. The whole Western world is turning to tropical Africa as a source of much needed raw material.

NEW POLICIES IN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

But a new policy was laid down by the signatories to the Peace pact in regard to African possessions, especially in those cases where territories came under the jurisdiction of the Mandates Commission. This policy is ably discussed by Sir Frederick Lugard in his "Dual Mandate for British Tropical Africa." He maintains that while Great Britain (and inferentially other powers) may be given a mandate over certain areas of Africa, they are not to develop the country at the expense of native welfare, and that there is a mandate implied upon the sovereign power to hold the country in trust for the benefit of the native peoples.

In discussing this same responsibility, Mr. George L. Beer, who was chief of the Colonial Division of the American Delegation at Paris, writes:

"Regarded as a whole, the question has two distinct sides. On the one hand it is a problem of civilizing the Negro,

which implies both the creation of new needs and the stimulation of those already existing, as well as the development of the natural resources of the country, so that the means to satisfy these requirements can be obtained by the native. From this aspect the question is purely internal. It means the gradual creation of an African civilization with strong native roots.

"But as the native has been incapable of advance by his own unaided efforts, foreign guidance was and is essential. With this tutelage, there has developed a measure of economic interdependence between tropical Africa and the advanced peoples of the world. They look to Africa to furnish them with part of the raw materials that their complex civilization requires, and in exchange they send to Africa some of the products of their busy workshops. The vitally important side of the question is the development of a sound African civilization; the secondary side is Africa as a source of supply to the Western world or as a market for its finished wares. The most essential thing is the determination of the lines of real progress, and the rejection of all measures not in harmony with the welfare of the natives, no matter how insistent be the demands of the outside world."

It is precisely this policy which should govern the Liberian Government in its dealing with the native peoples of the interior. The civilized Liberian through his government stands in the same relation to the native man that the European stands to other parts of tropical Africa.

And it is precisely this attitude which should govern the foreign concessionnaire who is an employer of labor. He stands in a position similar to that of the European power, or of the Liberian Government, to the people in his compound. This sense of responsibility for the human welfare of employees

is one which should govern the policies of all enlightened corporations in the employment of labor.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Coming now to a consideration of the natural resources of the country, the development of which constitutes the chief source of prosperity, we find that a fertile soil, a warm climate, and a heavy rainfall fairly well distributed over the twelve months, make ideal conditions for the production of a great variety of agricultural products.

In addition to the crops of rice, cassava and eddo which the native raises for his food supply, there are a number of valuable forest products which are in demand in Western markets. Among the most promising of these are the palm trees—the oil palm, the piassava palm and the coco palm.

The African oil palm is at present the most important. This nut yields two valuable oils, necchina and boechina, one obtained from the husks which cover the kernel, the other from the nut itself. Palm oil yields several valuable products. It is used for commercial manufacture in Europe and consumed by the natives as an article of food. Palm wine, made from the juice obtained by tapping the trunk of the tree is an intoxicating beverage esteemed by the natives. The palm kernels, or palm nuts as they are called, are not much larger than an acorn, but throughout West Africa both the kernel and the oil are valuable articles of commerce. The native method of extracting the oil yields a product which

is dirty and unsatisfactory, but in spite of this when properly handled palm oil is a source of latent wealth.

Another product is piassava fiber, obtained from the fronds of the raphia palm, which is used largely in the manufacture of brushes, brooms and similar articles.

A third palm which has proven its commerical worth in other parts of the tropics is the coconut palm. It is one of the chief articles of commerce in East Africa, the Philippines and other portions of the East. In Liberia it grows exceedingly well, but it has been very little planted or cultivated. One finds trees growing along the lower Kru Coast in the vicinity of Cape Palmas, and there are a few small plantations around Monrovia, but the cultivation of the coconut palm has received nothing like the attention which it deserves.

The coconut affords many products. Its dried meat, known as copra, is used for food, and for making oil products in the manufacture of soap, candles, lubricants, confectionery and glycerine. The fiber from the husk is known as coir, and is used for making door mats and scrubbing brushes. These and other products would justify the cultivation of coconut plantations upon a commercial scale. The nearness to the European market, and the steady prices which copra continues to maintain, are two added advantages.

Next in importance to the palms stands Liberian coffee. Its berry yields a strong black coffee which is used for blending, and is well known in European

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

markets. Its chief competitor is Brazilian coffee. In spite of the crude way in which it is handled by the natives it continues to find a steady market. The older settlers introduced the cultivation of coffee upon a commercial scale. Now the industry is largely in the hands of native farmers and chiefs, whose coffee plantations cover the hillsides behind Monrovia and other settlements a short distance from the coast.

One might also mention a number of other products which possess attractive possibilities in Liberia, provided capital and labor become available. Among these are cocoa, or cacao, good specimens of which are found growing around native villages in Maryland County and in other parts of the Kru Coast.

Sugar cane grows well and a number of the Americo-Liberians are producing it on their plantations in small quantities. This is all required for local consumption, however, in making sugar or syrup or rum. In 1926 a good deal of the crop was used in the local manufacture of rum. Cotton has been long a product of the native villages up-country. A good fiber is produced which is spun into thread by women and woven into native country cloths by men. These are sometimes beautifully dyed in rich orange, browns and blues from native dyes. The Vais, the Mendes and the Buzis make an excellent quality of this cloth, some of which is used in trade with the Mandingos who come in across the border. It remains to be seen, however, whether cotton would be a crop of economic value with the heavy rainfalls of the coast areas.

There is an active trade in kola nuts with the natives of the interior. Owing to lack of transportation facilities this article, together with other products from the far interior, find their way over the border into French territory or British Sierra Leone. Kola nuts are highly prized by the Mandingos and other desert tribes, as they produce an invigorating juice when chewed.

Conditions are also favorable for growing tobacco and vanilla. Ginger, peanuts and arrow-root have been grown by both civilized and native people in the past, but at present are not produced on a commercial scale. Maize, or Indian corn, will grow in Liberia fairly well. The young ears are eaten by the civilized people, and the grain is used for making meal. Probably millet and Guinea corn could also be grown to advantage.

THE RUBBER INDUSTRY

Coming now to a consideration of the rubber industry, Liberia possesses ideal conditions for the growth of this product. Several varieties of wild rubber are indigenous to the country. Experiments with plantations of Para rubber (*Hevea Brasiliensis*) have been entirely satisfactory.

In 1904 a concession was granted to a British Rubber Company for the development of a rubber plantation at Mount Barclay, ten miles back from Monrovia, and in 1910 plantings were commenced. At the outbreak of the World War about 1,100 acres were actually under rubber, containing approxi-

mately 175,000 trees. Later, this plantation was abandoned, and reverted to the Liberian Government.

The financial depression following the World War was disastrous to the rubber growing industry throughout the world. This industry is centered in the Malay States and the Dutch East Indies. About seventy-five per cent of the world's rubber supply is grown under British control, and a number of influential British growers sought relief through Government action. The British Government approved the plans submitted to it and what is known as the Stevenson Restriction Act came into effect on November 1, 1922. In brief it was a system of restriction upon production and marketing for the purpose of regulating prices.

By 1925, the price of rubber had risen from $0.15 to $1.20 a pound. This created a crisis in the American rubber manufacturing industry, especially in connection with the automobile industry where rubber had come to constitute such an important product.

In 1927, the world was consuming approximately 575,000 tons of rubber annually, the United States using about seventy per cent of the supply, which was about equal to the quantity produced in British controlled territory. The amount of money paid for its rubber supply as well as the control of such an important commodity caused considerable apprehension in America, and Mr. Harvey S. Firestone led a movement for Americans to produce their own rubber.

The Philippines and Mexico were possible areas, but terms of lease and conditions of labor and production were not favorable in those countries. The Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, of Akron, Ohio, sent experts to Africa, and as a result of their investigations they reported that Liberia was well suited to the production of rubber. Consequently negotiations were entered into with the Liberian Government and a concession secured.

The Company took over the abandoned Mount Barclay plantation, which it has been operating successfully for the past three years. It is also undertaking extensive clearings and plantings in adjacent areas. There are four conditions which are necessary for the production of rubber on a large scale:—

1. Stability and sympathy of the Government.
2. Favorable health conditions.
3. Suitable soil, climate and an even distribution of rainfall.
4. An available supply of native labor.

Liberia met all these requirements, and the Firestone Company undertook the development of rubber plantations upon a large scale. The Company was granted a concession to clear and plant as much as a million acres of land, on terms carefully prescribed by the Government.

It was realized that in order to operate successfully in Liberia, a considerable development of roads, harbors and other internal improvements would be required. The Government was still seeking a loan with which to undertake some of these much needed operations. At the same time a group

of American bankers agreed to assist Liberia in the floating of a new loan. Under the terms of this agreement Liberia was granted a credit of five million dollars. It is proposed to use about half of the money in the payment of all its outstanding debts, both domestic and foreign, the balance to be made available from time to time for public improvements and reorganization.

Under the terms of the new loan agreement, the former Receivership for Customs has been abolished, and a Financial Adviser appointed in his stead by the President of the Republic. This places the Government in a much more satisfactory light, for in spite of its small income and expenditure, Liberia has met its international obligations in a creditable manner, and the Government is to-day in a very satisfactory economic condition.

The whole question of the rubber industry is of interest to Americans, especially those who have been engaged in work in Liberia for many years. It is generally conceded that Liberians lack both the financial experience and the necessary capital with which to develop their resources. These can only come from Europe or America. The country has been isolated more or less in the past for lack of capital, but has possessed a surplus of labor which has been exported to Fernando Po and other parts of the West Coast for terms of service. The development of the rubber industry and the advent of capital, with the concurrent development of highways and port facilities, will give a new field for the employment of labor at home.

An agricultural enterprise, such as the rubber growing industry, offers great opportunities for the improvement of native conditions. The production of rubber upon a plantation is a phase of industry with which the natives are more or less familiar; it is not like going into the mines or into a factory, which involves a violent break in the old life. Primitive agriculture is already the chief means of livelihood for the natives, the people working for the chiefs who largely control their labor. Many of their undertakings are communal in nature, and the individual man receives very little reward for his labor for as a rule the chief or clan-head shares his earnings.

In working for a rubber company, the native would receive the wages which were due him. It means in fact the breaking down of the clan system and the substitution of free labor in its stead. While this has some disadvantages as well as some advantages, it is the natural course of evolution, wherever industrial development has taken place.

The plans of the Rubber Company contemplate the development of rubber growing areas in different sections of the country, where labor is available. It intends to distribute the plantations over a number of areas, and to induce the people to settle on them with their families. Thus, men will not be compelled to walk for days into a far section of the country in order to find employment, nor will they be separated for long periods of time from their families, as has been the case in some portions of Africa. Attractive villages will be built, with a sanitary water supply and sewage, neat cottages, and garden plots

to assist in the production of an improved food supply. One who knows the average African village cannot but rejoice at this prospect. The labor connected with the gathering of rubber is not difficult and the men will have finished their work each day by the middle of the afternoon, when they will be free to dispose of their time as they please. The building up of village life affords an opportunity for community betterment on the part of the Church, the school and the Company. A higher standard of home life can be encouraged where there are attractive gardens; such a village would foster the development of home industries among women and girls. Measures for child welfare and facilities for wholesome recreation would also be provided.

While the Company expects to engage in the production and marketing of rubber upon a wholesale scale, it does not preclude the native man himself, if he has the necessary initiative, from producing rubber on his own holdings and selling the product to the Company. In fact this is one of the projects of the Company, which wishes to secure rubber latex on the most economical basis possible; if the natives prefer to produce it from their own plantings in adjacent settlements, and market it to the Rubber Company, they will be encouraged to do so. About one-third of the rubber now produced in Malaya is grown upon this basis.

AGRICULTURAL POSSIBILITIES

This brings up the question of the development of agriculture by native farmers upon their own plots.

Much of the prosperity of the Gold Coast comes from the marketing of cocoa which is produced by individual farmers, and in Liberia undoubtedly both forms of agricultural enterprise are desirable. That of the large scale plantation organized on the best principles of scientific management, and employing agricultural laborers under equitable conditions, is one; that of the small farmer is another. It is a question, too, whether the native man can be induced to combat the ordinary fungus and insect pests which attack many of the tropical plants and overcome them, without supervision of some kind. All this remains to be seen.

At present, however, it does not seem that the introduction of a fair amount of capital for the development of rubber, coffee, cocoa, palm-oil, bananas, or other tropical products, could prejudice the general welfare of the country, provided labor were free to seek its own outlet, and agricultural lands were not alienated to such a large extent as to make individual holdings impossible. Nothing like this seems at all probable in Liberia, with a native Government in control. A few well-managed enterprises, with reputable capital behind them, certainly afford some prospect of development for the country.

With regard to the development of native agriculture upon a sound basis, the Government should undertake some enterprise such as the farm demonstration work which has been developed in America, and in some sections of Africa. The native man needs to raise his standard of living, and that means

the need of more income, to purchase the articles of commerce which he desires. In some areas certain products can be localized and developed upon a commercial scale through stimulation on the part of the Government. Agricultural advisers, or farm demonstration agents, could profitably be employed in each county along the coast, and in each administrative district in the interior, to work among the farmers and their families, and assist them and their chiefs in the production and marketing of suitable crops. This phase of the work will be treated in a later chapter.

SIGNS OF PROSPERITY

By way of summary, one might say that the country appears to be entering upon a period of reasonable prosperity, slow it is true, but nevertheless certain.

The last annual report of the Financial Adviser (1925-26) shows an increase in Customs Revenue of nearly $30,000 over the previous year. Increases were shown from Monrovia, Sinoe and Cape Mount, indicating that the increase has been general; other ports also showed up well. The total Customs Revenue, Head-moneys and Collections amounted to nearly $500,000, an increase of nearly $50,000 over the previous year's totals.

The volume of trade, which amounted to $3,015,000, also showed an increase. Imports were valued at $2,115,000, and exports at $1,900,000. Both show gains over the previous year and would balance each

other if exports were reported at their full value. Germany, England, the United States and Holland, in the order named, are the countries with the greatest volumes of trade.

The amount of rubber exported in 1925 came to approximately 441,000 lbs., and for the nine months of 1926 to approximately 360,000 lbs. The year 1926 will probably exceed the previous year when the figures are compiled. As rubber goes mainly to the United States, this will in time make America probably the largest purchaser of Liberian products.

The total number of ships calling at Liberian ports during the fiscal year 1925, was 904, which was an increase over the previous year. Practically all the European Steamship Companies operating on the West Coast have passenger and cargo vessels making regular calls at Monrovia. There are two lines which maintain a regular monthly service between Liberia and New York, and direct steamship connections between America and Liberia will undoubtedly be improved within the next few years as trade increases between the two countries.

Considerable progress is being made in public works. Customs houses, wharves, lighthouses, roads, ferries and telephone lines are being improved as public funds permit. Plans are also under way for the connection of Monrovia with different parts of the interior and the lower coast through wireless stations. A new wireless system has already been established with America. The Government has recently added a revenue cutter to its service which will afford facilities for better official com-

munication between Monrovia and other parts of the coast.

LIBERIAN COMMERCE

Exports by Countries

To	1922	1925
England	$274,404.27	$393,885.99
Germany	499,892.51	855,219.74
Holland	195,997.02	292,013.93
Spain		5.28
France	999.52	606.00
United States	2,037.32	254,388.98
Other Countries	72,052.14	114,933.18
Totals	$1,045,382.78	$1,911,053.10

Imports by Countries

From	1922	1925
England	$647,515.76	$728,372.28
Germany	429,915.37	704.881.97
Holland	147,393.56	192,500.40
Spain	55.54	8,310.98
France	22,877.79	23,434.96
United States	131,178.34	210,708.36
Other Countries	122,579.16	246,812.13
Totals	$1,501,515.52	$2,115,021.08

Principal Exports

Commodities	*Quantity*	1922	1925
Coffee	Lbs.	2,626,819	2,848,519
Ivory	"	9,998	9,217
Palm Kernels	"	12,780,432	20,094,144
Palm Oil (Boechina)	Gals.	327,802	671,937
Palm Oil (Nechina)	"	1,860	654
Piassava	Lbs.	9,654,044	13,558,144
Rubber	"		441,066

ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE OF SHIPS

	1922		1925	
Nationality	*Ships*	*Tonnage*	*Ships*	*Tonnage*
British	301	886,758	314	907,834
German	266	439,069	347	622,362
Dutch	183	271,309	170	322,807
French	26	89,042	11	38,740
Spanish	30	51,492	28	62,830
American	20	70,693	26	93,466
Italian	1		1	3,632
Others	38	62,885	7	11,181
TOTALS	864	1,871,248	904	2,062,852

CHAPTER V

THE FAMILY AND THE CLAN

CLAN MEMBERSHIP

In this chapter and the four subsequent ones a rather detailed account of native customs and religion is given which will be of service to those who wish to understand more fully the life and thought of the native peoples in Liberia. While based upon the Kpelle, they are typical of what may be found with local modifications in other portions of the country.

Generally speaking, the family is the economic and social unit in native life. In its narrower sense it consists of a husband and his wife, or wives, and their children. They live in a common compound, work together to provide their food, form a common household and are thus an independent social unit. But this unit is not so narrow as in our Western conception of the word family. If a man has several wives, each of them—or sometimes several together—lives in a hut of her own within the common compound and does her own housekeeping, the husband being alternately the guest of one of his wives. If there is a large number of wives, as generally is the case with chiefs and other wealthy people, most of them settle on the various farm-villages and there

lead quite independent lives, their only obligation being to receive their husband when he happens to visit them.

The result of the family's work is not used exclusively in maintaining the family. Each member has to give part of his work to the clan-unit, another part belongs to him personally, and the third part serves to maintain the common household to which he belongs.

Of far greater importance than the family is the clan, that is, a community whose members are conscious of being closely united by common descent. The head of a clan is its oldest male member, provided he lives in physical and mental health. A clan as a rule consists of this head, his brothers, sisters and cousins and their children and grandchildren. The serfs belonging to a clan are also regarded as members. Within a clan all members of the same generation are addressed by all members of the older or younger generation in the same way. For instance, those of the grandfather's generation are all called "grandfather," those of the father's or brother's or son's generation are called "fathers," "brothers," or "sons" as the case may be. Thus a person may say he is a man's son when he is his nephew; persons who have neither a common father nor mother will call each other brothers. The same thing is done on the female side.

Membership of a clan is always lifelong. When a person marries, he still remains a member of his clan. Even if after marriage he goes to live in a distant village, he still is obliged to obey the direc-

tions of his native clan-head and to provide his share for the maintenance of the clan-unit. The children of a married pair belong to the mother's clan. This lies behind the fact that the eldest brother feels responsible for the education of his sister's children. He even exercises a certain right of ownership over them. If the clan is heavily in debt or has to give a pledge (consisting of a person) while carrying on a lawsuit, the brother is entitled to dispose of his sister's children as securities.

MATRILINEAL DESCENT

Descent is matrilineal, that is, it is reckoned through the mother. When the wife dies before her husband, the children become automatically the property of their mother's clan. If the husband wants to keep them, he has to "redeem" them from his wife's clan by giving presents. If the husband dies first, his eldest brother takes his place and enters into ownership of the wife and children of the deceased.

Certain old customs also prove the clan to be matrilineal. When in a war a chief is defeated, his sister's son has to sue the victorious chief for peace. Formerly a cow had always to be killed by a nephew of the chief. But on the other hand the children succeed to the estate of their father and not to that of their uncle. In many cases the latter will leave to his nephew part of his property, but this is done only by his free will and is not based upon any lawful claim. In general it may be said that public

opinion is in favor of extending the right of a father over his children, and as a matter of fact to-day children are maintained and educated mainly by their father, the position and authority of the uncle being more traditional than real.

This is also to a certain extent true of the position of the head of the clan. Theoretically he is responsible for all the members of the clan, but this relates only to particular situations in life. The family, apart from what it is bound to contribute to the common property of the clan, is economically independent. Only in cases of great need will the head of the clan be called upon for material help. But in family councils his voice is decisive and will hardly be disobeyed. When a boy or girl is to be initiated or engaged, when a death has occurred, when a member is involved in a lawsuit, the "father" or clan-head will be called and his wisdom listened to. His "children" will not undertake any important step in life without having secured his consent. If a "child" has to pay the bride-price, if he is fined or has to give a pledge in a lawsuit, if he is deeply in debt, he may count upon the support of the common father, who will not abandon his children. He will pay part of the expenses out of the common property of the clan or out of his private means; in this latter case he will ask his relatives to do the same. A clan-brother must never be abandoned, and it is surprising how in cases of emergency the heads of the families of a clan make great sacrifices and collect considerable amounts of money when a "brother" is to be saved from distress or infamy. The great-

est disaster that can happen to an individual is exclusion from his clan. This punishment may be imposed on men who are incorrigible in contracting debts and thus threaten to ruin the whole clan.

TABOO-FELLOWSHIP

Clans increase by off-shoots. Strictly speaking the number of clans within a tribe will always remain the same, as each child is born into his clan. But in fact new clans have frequently been formed. This generally happens when a family—husband and wife—settle down in an uninhabited district and found a village of their own. Their descendants gradually rise to the rank of a clan and are recognized as such. For some generations the feeling of close relationship with the mother-clan will survive, but naturally it becomes increasingly vague. When in the course of time one clan has given rise to a number of sub-clans the members of such an enlarged unit no longer know each other personally and are no longer conscious of their common origin.

But even in these cases they still do form a unit, and they possess among each other an infallible countersign: their common taboo—a certain animal or plant, or a certain action which is prohibited to all of them. Taboo is called in Kpelle *tea,* in other Mandingo languages *tana.* All persons having the same taboo regard each other as brothers and as people of one stock. This is the case even when they belong to quite distant tribes, have never seen each other, and sometimes speak different languages.

They form a brotherhood which is of great importance in intertribal relations. Taboo-fellows owe one another unconditional help; a man is not obliged or even permitted to witness against his taboo-fellow in a lawsuit, and if he swears a false oath in his favor, the magical consequences which normally result from such an act will not fall upon him. Whenever a person on a journey comes into a town where he has no personal friend—a rare case with a native—he will at once ask for people of his taboo; he is sure to receive in their homes hospitality, protection and support. They treat him as a near relative though they may never have seen him before. Again several taboo-fellowships may be allied or related to each other, so that all members of these units are mutual friends. Quarrels between taboo-fellows can never degenerate into serious fights or wars, but are regarded as harmless disputes among members of one family which cannot lead to evil consequences. The taboo is transferred from the father to his children, and the wife sometimes assumes that of her husband. Thus a person not infrequently has more than one taboo.

ENGAGEMENT AND MARRIAGE

Girls are frequently engaged in childhood, the details having sometimes been agreed upon by the parents and the prospective bridegroom before the child is born. The man in such a case goes to the mother and gives a present, promising to marry the child if it is a girl, and to rear it as a member of his

household if a boy. The present is given and generally consists of a piece of cloth, a white chicken, some palm oil, rice and a mat, the man making this statement: "The oil is for rubbing the child's body, the cloth is for a cover, the mat for the child to lie upon, the rice and chicken are food for the mother."

If a girl is born she is the man's prospective wife. From time to time he will bring presents for her and her parents, until she is grown and he begins to pay the bride-price. If the mother bears a boy, the man will enter into a relation of friendship and protection with the child, caring for his needs, and sometimes taking him into his home, and leaving him part of his property.

When an engagement is concluded for a girl, her right to dissent from it before marriage is generally reserved. It is hardly possible to marry her against her will, and, since in these engagements the man is generally much older than the woman, not infrequently the marriage cannot be realized owing to the resistance of the woman. On the other hand the parents are interested in having the engagement fulfilled; they have continually been receiving presents from their intended son-in-law and are entitled to hope for many more. If the marriage does not take place, a private agreement between the two parties will settle the question whether the presents already received are to be returned or not. In most cases they remain the property of the girl's family. In general the parents of a girl try to defer the marriage of their daughter as long as possible, in order to prolong the time during which their pros-

pective son-in-law is due to keep them friendly by showing them favors.

When the girl has given her consent, the two families having also agreed, the paying of the bride-price is fixed. Only wealthy people pay the price in cash or goods. In the great majority of cases the young man, sometimes with the help of his companions, has to do farm-work and other jobs for his future parents-in-law during several years, possibly as many as four. Moreover during this time he is still expected to pay attention to his girl and her family, giving presents of palm-wine, tobacco, a piece of meat, farm-produce, clothes, ornaments, whatever season and opportunity may suggest.

The proposal of a youth to a grown-up girl has to be made by mediation through a friend of the aspirant, who has to carry on the negotiations between the two families. This takes a considerable time. First the suitor himself tries to win the favor of his girl's family by repeatedly sending them little presents. If these are graciously received, he will ask an older friend to take the matter in hand and make enquiries about the intentions of the other party. The girl's people will likewise try to gather detailed information concerning the young man and his family. They may also bring the matter before the village-council or ask a diviner whether the proposed step is propitious. An unwelcome suitor is very conveniently put off by telling him that the oracle has forbidden the marriage, or that the family charm has spoken against him. These first negotiations are seldom carried on directly, both parties

appointing a mediator. This delicate office is frequently entrusted to the village blacksmith, who is generally acquainted with the secret affairs of the community, and is often employed as a confidential agent. The suitor may also open negotiations by sending some kola nuts to the girl's parents, which, when accepted, are followed by direct negotiation between both families. When a married man wants to add a new wife to his household, he may depute his own wife, or a small party of friends together with his wife, to carry on the negotiations. The wife herself is interested in her husband's taking a second wife and will advise him to do so, because in this way she gets a companion in her daily work, and her social position is raised considerably by becoming the head-wife.

After the parents have made known their assent, the formal proposal follows. Representatives of the young man's family go to the girl's people and talk the matter over. The girl is formally asked for her consent, which is necessary for a lawful marriage. This does not exclude the possibility that her assent may be obtained from her by pressure. The bride-price is fixed; but it is not necessarily all paid in advance. The girl may be given to the man when he has paid only part of the dowry, but in such cases the parents will threaten to take their daughter back if the man is slow in fulfilling his obligations. Delay may also lead to family quarrels, the wife sometimes reproaching her husband for his want of thrift or of honorable feeling towards his obligations.

Should the suitor without a valid reason refuse to marry the girl, the bride-price and all presents which have been made remain with the girl's family. If the marriage is made impossible by a refusal on the part of the girl's family, they have to return the bride-price. In some parts of the country the amount of the bride-price is dependent upon the terms of the marriage contract. If, after the death of the husband, the wife and her children are to remain in the husband's family, a higher price is paid. In this case the wife marries the deceased husband's brother or cousin. Otherwise the woman returns to her own family.

The forms of engagement described above are those usual among families of "good standing"; but a marriage may also be contracted with less formality. A young man and a girl like each other and agree to live together as husband and wife. Later the man asks the girl's parents for their consent, which is seldom refused. By this act the union has become lawful. The husband does not pay a bride-price, but he will give the parents some presents and render them occasional services. If he does not ask for the parents' sanction at all, or if he abandons his wife, he may be forced by the chief to pay damages to the parents. If the parents refuse their consent, the relations between the couple will as a rule continue and they will live in a form of concubinage which is not recognized as a lawful institution. If after a short time both are tired of

their association, they separate, without any obligation resting on either. If a child has been born, it belongs to the mother's family.

Masters arrange the marriage of slaves and serfs; they need not be asked for their consent, though this is sometimes done. As a rule the owner will marry his male and female slaves to each other; but he may also give some of his female slaves away to other men. The condition of a female slave is not changed by her marrying a free man, but frequently she is declared free after the birth of her first child; her children also are free.

Chiefs acquire their wives by paying the bride-price, but besides this, girls or women are given to them as presents. A man who wants to win the chief's favor presents him with a daughter or a niece, or sometimes with a slave. The latter is not valued nearly as highly as a "daughter of the soil," that is, a free woman. The gift of a daughter or niece is mostly made by men who are deeply in debt and who hope to get out of their difficulties by becoming a father-in-law to the chief. By accepting their offer the chief takes over all their obligations, while on the other hand the man and his family become in a certain way dependent on their chief. When a chief gives to a man one of his daughters in marriage, the man has of course to accept such a royal offer and is expected to show his gratitude by giving very liberal presents. Chiefs and other wealthy people have apart from their wives a number of female slaves who have been acquired by purchase. In general their social position is not essen-

tially different from that of lawfully married wives, but they have strictly to obey the orders of the head-wife.

As a rule marriage takes place immediately after the girl has been dismissed from the Sande-school, as described in Chapter IX. "To take a girl out of the bush" really means to marry her. The bride-groom has to make a present to the leader of the school, who then "washes" the girl, *i.e.*, rubs her body with fat and chalk, dresses her in the grass-cloth of the Sande pupils, ties charms and fineries on her dress and body and leads her into the bride-groom's house. The latter has invited his friends to a feast, which concludes the wedding ceremony. If any dissatisfaction arises with the girl the first night she can be returned to her parents and the bride-price reclaimed. The bridegroom is expected to build a hut for his wife before he marries. The young pair in most cases live in the village of the wife, not in that of the husband, at least during the first years. The reason for this is the view that the children belong to the mother's clan and should therefore be born in her village. It is chiefly the bride's mother who makes this condition, as she is not willing to let her daughter go to the man's town.

DIVORCE

Among the reasons that authorize a man to divorce his wife are stubbornness of the woman, laziness, neglect of daily work and in providing food for the husband, unsociability, inability to bear children,

Entrance to a Chief's Compound
The huts are the homes of his wives

A Paramount Chief and Six of His Wives
The head wife has her hand on his shoulder

Mano Women at Sanoquelleh
Mothers generally carry their babies strapped to their backs

Mandingo Babies

and in some cases, contagious disease or persistent infidelity. The wife can divorce her husband for bad treatment and impotence. A marriage is dissolved only when a divorce has been pronounced by the heads of both families or by the local court, after attempts at reconciliation have failed. The financial arrangement resulting from a divorce depends on who has moved for the separation. There is no question as to which is the guilty party; the judges have only to find out whether on the basis of the alleged complaints a divorce can be pronounced. According to the general rule the person who has requested the divorce is at a financial disadvantage. If a woman has left the home of her husband, the latter will ask her to return; if she does not do so, he can claim a divorce. Even if in such a case the judges come to the conviction that the wife has been driven away by improper behavior on the part of her husband, yet she, and not the husband, is regarded as the one who, by leaving the home, has sought for divorce. If the husband sends away his wife without a weighty reason, and the wife's family raises a complaint, divorce is pronounced against the husband.

If a divorce is asked for by the wife, her family has to restore the bride-price and presents, but frequently the husband will content himself with half of each. In case the wife's family should not be able to return the bride-price, they may give to the man another girl for a wife, but she must not be a sister of the divorced woman. The divorced wife is entitled to keep those presents which her husband gave her while they were married. Their children

remain with the man; but if there is a young baby, it is kept by the mother till it is weaned, and then given over to the husband. If within ten months after the divorce a child is born, it belongs to the husband. If a divorce has been sought by the husband, the bride-price and the presents remain the property of the wife's family, the children are placed under the guardianship of the mother's clan and later become members of her clan. If a marriage is dissolved by the husband's death, the bride-price and the presents remain with the woman's family; his heir is guardian of the children and has to care for their education. They may remain with their mother while they are under age if the mother has not married again. If the wife dies, the children belong to the father.

STATUS OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

The expressions used for "husband" and "to marry" seem to indicate that the wife is regarded as the man's property. The word for "husband" is "woman-possessed by man," or "woman's possessor." Only the man marries, that is, "acquires a woman," or he "sets a woman" into his house. But this right of ownership is not in any way comparable to that of a slave. A wife cannot be bought and sold, and these terms are not used in speaking of the acquisition of a wife.

A number of wives are essential to the wealth and reputation of a man. But this fact does not, in the view of the natives, necessarily mean a low social

position for the woman, nor does it preclude the existence of real attachment between husband and wife. Personal feelings play an important part in marrying the first wife. The addition of the subsequent wives is little more than increasing the property of the "owner," or the merely physical desire of an elderly man to have a young mate. The woman whom a man has married first is his head-wife, and is called *pele de,* or "house-mother." As a rule she has the full confidence of her husband, keeps his valuables and his money, brings him his food, cares for his personal needs and as far as possible is always about him. Her position is not lowered, but on the contrary raised, when her husband makes additional marriages. By means of them she becomes the mistress of all the younger wives and even responsible for their personal conduct. It is therefore customary for her to look among her friends and acquaintances for a fellow-wife and to recommend her husband to marry such and such a woman. At any rate she expects to be consulted before her husband takes a new wife.

Monogamy is the rule among people of the lower and middle classes. Only wealthy people can afford to acquire more than one wife; they regard it as indispensable to have more. Apart from the acquisition of slaves, it is the only means they have for investing their wealth in a productive way and demonstrating their claim to a high social position. A village chief or king is expected to have many wives. In some instances the number may rise to fifty; some chiefs have been known to have two

hundred. Of this number three or four constantly wait upon the chief; the head-wife, the cooking-wife who is responsible for the preparation of his meals, the traveling-woman who accompanies her husband on his journeys. The sala-woman, who keeps away evil influences also accompanies her husband everywhere, carrying his charm-box. On journeys she frequently takes over the duties of the traveling-woman.

WIVES A SOURCE OF WEALTH

Chiefs sometimes place a number of their wives out in their villages or farm-hamlets, where each has a hut, a piece of land for farming and a household of her own. Her only obligation towards her husband is to receive him when he happens to come to the neighborhood. It is evident that these women are in great danger of leading loose lives. Almost all of them have one or more lovers, to whom they show their favor and from whom they exact presents. This state of things is not resented, but rather expected and desired by the husband, who sometimes receives quite an income through his wives. The chiefs increase the attractiveness of the women by fine clothing, ornaments and rich tattooing, and give them a chance to have relations with other men, in order that they may bring a charge of adultery. When a chief needs money, he may ask one of his wives: "To which man do you belong?" If the woman confesses a man's name, the chief will go to him and demand damages. At certain intervals all the wives of an important chief are called together

at their husband's court to give an account of their doings, that is, to "call the names" of their lovers. The procedure is made more effective by the presence of an ordeal-man, who brings to light many hidden things. The object of such a session at the court is to recover damages for adultery from the lovers. After the woman has "called" her lover's name, she is sent to him to tell him what has happened. Should the man deny the charge, he also has to undergo an ordeal and will certainly be found guilty. But except in very rare cases the man will admit the relationship and pay the offended husband a preliminary indemnity called "night-money," which amounts to four or five dollars. In addition to this he has to pay a fine, which may amount to as much as fifty dollars, the exact amount being fixed by a council of the elders. These sentences involve no blame whatever, and after a man has fulfilled his obligations he may begin again his relations with the same woman. In this way the possession of many wives is for the chief, apart from the farm-work the women have to do for him, a source of wealth and often of regular income. The children that are born from such unions always belong to the chief. If a man is seriously attached to his female friend and wishes to have her as his own, he will offer to become the chief's serf and the latter will give him the woman for his wife.

POLYGAMY VERSUS MONOGAMY

It hardly needs to be pointed out that in monogamy the relations between husband and wife are

more natural and much more satisfactory. Not only are causes of jealousy and envy between the wives, which are a constant cause of dissension, removed, but motives for illegal relationships on the part of the woman are also lessened.

Several reasons are given to account for polygamy. In the first place, there is the historical background, where similar conditions have prevailed in times past, especially amongst oriental peoples. In native Africa to-day, these conditions still exist, and one finds in family life much the same social organization based upon a plurality of wives and domestic slavery as existed then.

There is also the economic reason, for these wives and domestic slaves furnish a ready supply of labor with which to carry on agricultural work. To-day, during the farming season, a chief takes his wives and domestic slaves, and together they clear and plant rice farms or work the coffee plantations.

Then there are the social restrictions of family organization. During the period of child-bearing a prospective mother lives apart from her husband and is given a period of about two years in which to bear and wean the child.

But polygamy of course has its other side. Life is not regarded as highly as it is among Western peoples. Abortion and infanticide sometimes occur. In the marriage relation, too, the advantage is always on the side of the man. The woman has little recourse to justice in case of the infidelity of her husband, while he is at liberty to hold her to account for her actions, or to recover damages from the of-

fending man. She may express her feelings in an outburst of jealousy or of anger. He, in turn, is at liberty to beat her.

FAMILY LIFE

But family life is generally peaceful and a personal attachment between husband and wife is frequently to be observed. The man talks to his wife about his plans, asks her counsel and listens to her word. Bad treatment of a woman by her husband is rather an exception. There may occasionally arise a dispute or a fight, but in these family skirmishes the wife is not always the defeated party. There are not a few men who are in their doings completely guided by the clever influence of their wife.

The wife does not partake of the same dish as her husband. The man eats with his grown-up sons and male guests, while the wife waits upon them. She takes her meal with the younger children after the men have finished theirs. The chief meal is taken between five and six o'clock in the evening; in the morning some roasted cassava or any food left from the night before is eaten; at noon there is a somewhat fuller meal. The supper consists of cooked rice with vegetables and palm oil, and some meat or fish. The food is tasteful and clean, and generally prepared with care.

The man sleeps in the same hut as his wife, he on the bedstead, she on a mat on the floor, or on a second bedstead. The rest of the wives sleep each in

her own hut, or several together in one hut, which serves also as a sleeping place for the younger children. The older children, and other adult members of the family either have their own huts within the compound or they may live within the settlements of the Poro and the Sande.

When a woman bears a child, she is attended by a friendly neighbor or by the head woman of the Sande. There are a number of local customs to be observed by the mother in order to avoid evil consequences. In some places she must refrain from eating salt. In others she must confess her misdeeds to the attending Sande woman. The midwife gives the child a name which serves until it has been initiated into the bush society. After the birth of a child, the Sande woman takes the child in her arms, walks around the hut, and lifts the baby towards the four points of the compass so as to bring good luck to the child. She then shows the child to its father who must give a present to her and also to the mother, and notifies the clan-head of the birth. During the time of the birth and for several days afterwards the father must not be seen in the hut.

Twins are regarded with awe by primitive peoples. In some parts of Africa they are put to death, together with their mother, but in Liberia this custom does not prevail. Special precautions, however, have to be taken to avert harmful consequences. Among the Kpelle, twins are supposed to possess peculiar powers. During their lifetime they are treated as persons whose position differs from that of ordinary men.

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

Whenever they come into a village, and also on other occasions, they are given presents as a sign of deference, but the same present has always to be given to each of them. If one of twin children dies, a wooden doll is made to represent him, and is given the name of the dead child. It is always carried about by the survivor, and even receives its share of the presents.

DIVISION OF WORK

The occupations are so divided between the sexes that the woman's share represents the real economic work, while the males, apart from the season of strenuous farm clearing, are mainly engaged in sports. They do not feel any obligation to work for a long period unremittingly, but leave off when they are tired. In some ways they regard work more as if it were a pastime. This does not, of course, apply to the slaves.

The men perform those duties which call for strength greater than that of the women. They clear the farm land of undergrowth and trees and burn the bush, but leave the rest of the farm work to the women, who do the planting, weeding and harvesting. The task of driving away the rice birds is left to the boys. A woman always speaks about "her farm," and the man "prepares a farm for his wife."

In building a hut the man pounds the mud, fells, cuts and rams in the wall-poles, and does any wood-work required. He also prepares the thatch. The

woman carries the mud, smears the walls, makes the floor, the threshold, and other mud-work around the house. The chief occupation of the woman is, of course, the daily housework; carrying the foodstuffs from the farm storehouse, beating the palm nuts, preparing palm oil, soap and salt; watering the garden-beds, washing clothes at the river; fishing; preparing the meals; carrying water and wood—sometimes for long distances, and looking after the children. During the farm season in particular she is busy from early morning until late at night. Most household utensils are the product of her hand; pots, dishes, calabashes and bags.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE MEN

The men do regular and strenuous work during the weeks when they clear the farm-land. During this time it is hardly possible to engage them for any work for an outsider, however well-paid they might be. The farm attracts them irresistibly, even chiefs and owners of many slaves are seen on the farm with bush-knives and hoes in hand. Husband and wife leave their home often before daylight to go to the farm, which may be some hours distant. They like to carry all their belongings with them: children, dog and chickens, the latter in a big basket; pots, dishes, gourds, axes, hoes and shooting-bows. All these have to be carried home again in the evening. When the farming is done, the men have sufficient time during the rest of the year to indulge in their favorite occupations. At certain intervals they may

be called by the chief to do some special work, but generally they are at leisure.

They go hunting or fishing; they sit down in the blacksmith shop or the meeting-house for a talk, a game or a drink, or to plait a mat, a bag, a hat, a fishing-net or a hammock. They pass the time in carving a drum, a canoe, or a mortar for the wife. Some of them go for a few weeks or months to work for the white man on the coast, and so to earn a little money. They like to go into the bush to look after their wine palms and have a drink, or to examine their traps or to gather kola nuts; above all they "make palaver"—"talk politics." They take part in any meeting called by the chief or the secret society, where public affairs are settled. Sometimes one may see them lying in their hammocks just dreaming, but that is rather exceptional. They are generally engaged at something and feel bitterly offended when spoken of as lazy. And it must be admitted that they perform their share of work punctually and carefully, and that in the service of white men they are persevering and reliable when rightly treated.

In the more important undertakings such as house-building, making a canoe, laying out a large farm or harvesting the crop, a man will ask his friends in the village for help. No pay is given in such a case, the idea of wages for work having been unknown before the arrival of the whites. But the workers are entertained with a rich meal and palm wine. The chief claims the coöperation of all men in any undertaking for the interests of the community, such

as building a meeting-house or a blacksmith shop, road-making, and also for his personal services. They all have to join in farming for him, in constructing or repairing his houses, in carrying loads or going as messengers. "If your king calls you, you do not refuse."

There are few workers with specific vocations, as each household provides for most of its needs, and artisans are generally unknown, except the blacksmith and possibly the weaver. Pottery is always made by women, but only in those places where suitable clay is found. There are, of course, men whose chief occupation is hunting and fishing, but all this is occasional work, done outside the farming season. A special position of higher degree is occupied by those men who administer a religious office: leaders of secret societies, sand cutters (diviners), witch doctors, medicine men, spirit hunters and ordeal-men. Their income is generally so considerable that for them farm work stands in the background. They own farms but make others work them. The peculiar position of these people is also shown by the fact that their vocation always remains within the same families. With the exception of the chiefs they are the only ones who are able to trace their ancestors through a number of generations.

A WOMAN'S DAILY WORK

The following account of a woman's daily task during the dry season, when there was no farm work to be done, was given by a native.

"One day's work for a woman is thus: She rises early in the morning. The first thing she does is to go and fetch water, which she puts on the fire to heat. While the water is getting hot, she sweeps the house. She then takes the warm water from the fire, and uses it to wash herself. After this is done, she rubs her body with chalk and rests for a little while. She puts the rice-pot on the fire, boils the rice and also prepares a broth. This is the morning meal for the family. When they have eaten it, she cleans the dishes and puts them aside. After this she lies down and takes a little nap. After that she goes fishing. She generally catches some small fishes which she puts into a bag. She then takes a bath in the river. Afterwards she brings some water which she heats over the fire for her husband's bath when he comes home. She cleans the fish and makes a soup out of them. She pounds cassava and makes fufu which she puts aside. She then pounds rice and puts it aside. When her husband eats the fufu, his wife cooks the rice and when he has finished eating the fufu, she gives him the rice. After he has finished this, she pours out the hot water and her husband goes to bathe. She comes to her husband with burned oil which she has made from the palm-oil and rubs him. This is one day's work for a woman."

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIVE POPULATION

DIVISIONS OF SOCIETY

Society is divided into free persons, serfs and slaves. But in this connection it must be remembered that slavery has no legal status in Liberia.

1. *Free Persons.* A free person is termed "a man of the soil," that is, a man belonging to a family which has long been settled in the country. The corresponding term for a woman is "woman of the soil." The free persons form the real Kpelle nation, of which a youth becomes a full member when he leaves the initiation school known as the Poro-bush. Only the freemen may elect the chief, and an honorable position in the administration of the country, in the Poro-bush and in other secret orders is reserved for them. A free person cannot be sold by the chief or by a private person, except for a criminal act. In the latter case an opportunity for redeeming the freeman is always afforded to his family before he can be sold to strangers. To the class of free persons every individual belongs who is born of free parents, or in lawful marriage between a free man and a serf or a slave woman. But there is a distinction: legitimate children of women who

have through capture in war become slaves are always considered free, while children of purchased slave women are often counted among the slaves. If a free man is captured in war, he becomes by that fact a slave, but immediately the sum required to redeem him has been paid, he returns into the state of a free man. Every slave can obtain freedom by redemption.

2. *Serfs.* To the class of serfs belong, (a) the children of slaves who are born in the house of their master; (b) their descendants in all following generations; (c) people who upon their own initiative have become serfs, or who, while children, have been presented to a chief or other wealthy person. Their descendants likewise remain in the position of servants. Like a free man, a serf cannot be sold, but unlike a slave he has not the privilege of redeeming himself, and his descendants always remain serfs. This legal position is, however, alleviated in practice by the prevailing custom of bestowing freedom upon those serfs—and particularly upon their children—who have rendered valuable services to their master's family. Some among them even obtain influential positions and wealth.

3. *Slaves.* These were for the most part prisoners of war who had not been redeemed by their families within a specified time. A few had been enslaved on account of crime. Slaves were also brought from abroad. Those from a distant country were preferred, as they were not likely to try to escape. The lot of a slave was generally not a hard one, but in social position they stood below the serfs

and differed from the latter essentially in that they might always be sold or given away when it pleased their master. On the other hand they were permitted to acquire private property.

POLITICAL DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY

The term Kpelle is used to designate a group of tribes more or less related. Their country does not form a political unit, but is divided up into a number of independent "kingdoms," or, more correctly speaking, paramount chieftainships. There are between fifty and sixty of these, differing considerably in size. In most cases a kingdom contains from twenty to thirty villages. These villages or towns, which are called in Kpelle "ta," vary greatly in size and population. Hamlets contain four or five huts, towns often contain several hundred houses. If one allows, upon an average, three persons to a hut, the largest towns in the southern Kpelle country have about three hundred inhabitants. Traveling into the interior one notices how the centers of population become gradually larger, and the whole life more vigorous, healthier and less broken by Western civilization. Towns with a population of between 1,000 and 3,000 souls are not exceptional in the northern districts.

There are three types of towns distinguished by their origin. Each kingdom has a chief town, which is the residence of the king. This is usually regarded as the oldest settlement in the chieftainship, and in most cases it doubtless is the place in which the clan

The Paramount Chief at Gbanga with His Favorite Son

Women Setting a Door Frame with Mud at Ganta

first settled on immigrating into the country. Speaking generally, it is the largest in population. From this center new towns branched off. On farms far away from a town small settlements were formed in which people went to live during the farming season. If these were favorably situated, they became permanent settlements; the family living there increased, others joined them, and so a new town was founded, which in most cases bears the name of its founder: Kunta is the town—*ta*—founded by a man named Kun. These towns are always politically dependent on the chief town from which they have taken their origin. The third class are those small hamlets which have not yet reached the rank of a town. They are called "farm villages," while the mother town is called the "big town," and the class between the two are simply designated as "towns" or "half-towns."

HOW TOWNS ARE BUILT

The towns are built on elevated plains, preferably those which lie above the bank of the rivers. The neighboring forest is cut down and the land used for farms. Where these have been abandoned secondary bush has grown up. The huts are built irregularly and close to each other, so that it is often difficult to move about among them. In the middle of the village a small space is left free, on one side of which the meeting-house is built. Only in rare cases can a shade tree be found in this space; indeed throughout the village there is hardly room for a tree. This close construction is partly caused by the

necessity of fortifying villages, which until quite recently was usual in the inland districts. These fortifications generally consisted of a palisade surrounded by a mound and trench. Since the endless wars and raids of former times have ceased, the fortifications are decaying, but in some inland towns they may be seen fairly well preserved. Poles ten to fifteen feet long stand close to each other rammed into the ground, where they have often taken root, so that the town is surrounded by a high, practically impenetrable living wall. Important towns had from four to six of these stockades, with a ditch and mound inside each. Gates hewn out of the large buttresses of cotton trees and swung on pivots led into the town. The gates were protected by piles of thorny bush heaped up on both sides of the road, through which a narrow passage led to the gate itself. Within the gates were one or two watch-houses in which soldiers were on guard in times of danger. Against the inside of the walls ladders leaned at fixed intervals, on which likewise guards were posted. The entrance to the gates was decorated with the skulls of slain enemies, as a wholesome discouragement for an assailing host. These places were practically impregnable and could stand a siege for many months, if they only had sufficient water within their walls. This was a serious handicap for almost all of them. Each morning the women, accompanied by soldiers, had to go to the nearest well for water, and if once the well was occupied by the enemy, the place was lost.

Apart from the ruined fortifications, most villages,

with their well-kept huts, dignified meeting-house and clean streets, give a friendly impression of prosperity and peace. The courtyard and the space before the houses are swept every morning by the women, not only from the love of cleanliness, but also from fear that some harmful elements might be hidden in the rubbish. For the same reason a stranger is expected to sweep the guest-house and the space before the door before he leaves. If he should neglect this duty the women in the neighborhood will do it immediately he has gone.

VILLAGE LIFE

The public life of a village centers around the meeting-house; the smaller towns have one, and the larger towns have several. Here, in the cool shade of the hall, which protects against sun and rain, you will find company at all times of the day: men who are busy plaiting mats or fishing-nets, drying fish over a fire, or talking palaver; strangers putting off their loads, preparing their meals, and carrying on a little trade with the villagers. In the meeting-house the law-court holds its sittings and public questions are discussed. The bodies of the dead are here put on the bier before they are interred, and funeral ceremonies are held. On an evening the chief invites the men to a pot of palm wine or beer. Women are seldom seen in the meeting-house; it is the resort of the men and the favorite place for passing a leisure hour.

Personal conduct is regulated by fixed forms.

Everybody knows how he has to behave and what is expected of him in any given situation, and nobody will ever neglect these rules. No one will enter a hut without knocking at the door or announcing his approach by a call, and without being asked to come in; nobody passes a person, whether man or woman, without saluting. Little services are rendered as a matter of course, such as lifting a load, helping to cross a river or a swamp. When strangers put off their loads in the meeting-house some one will be ready to call the chief and to bring some drinking water, and it is certain that he who receives a service will not fail to show his gratitude. Good manners and polite behavior are expected of everybody and the scrupulously observed forms give a certain dignity to public and private life. Even the chief's messenger, when he delivers a message from his master, will begin his speech by saying: "The chief sends you greeting and asks you so and so."

Except on occasions of public festivity drunken people are seldom seen on the street. If a man has drunk too much, he will go into his hut and sleep himself sober. Drunkenness is rare, but is not unknown. For instance a man may go early in the morning to his raphia palm in the bush and drink the wine that has trickled out of the palm during the night, having caused it to ferment quickly by pouring into it the sediment of old wine or the bark of a tree. Then he will lie down to sleep and drink again in the afternoon. Thus he may continue for weeks till the palm is exhausted and gives no more wine. European gin and other liquors, generally of low

quality and harmful in their influence, are imported in considerable quantities. They are, however, so expensive, at least in the interior, that they have not become a regular beverage. They are drunk on special occasions, as when a contract is concluded, or a marriage or funeral is held, or at public meetings, in times of festivity and when sacrifices are offered.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

1. *The Clan as a Political Unit.* The head of a clan is called "father," "master," or simply "old man." The clan is unquestionably the most important and, in the view of the natives, the most natural political unit. It is based upon common descent. Its chief is the patriarch, who is honored and willingly obeyed by all. He enjoys a greater and more immediate authority than the village chief. While the latter cannot decide any matters of importance without the consent of his counselors, the clan-father is completely independent within his own sphere. If one clan forms a village, the clan-head becomes the village chief. But even when several clans inhabit a village, which is the general rule, the clan-chiefs are the real masters, and are the leaders in the council which directs all public matters.

2. *The Village Chief.* A village is called *"ta,"* and the village chief is the "owner of the village," the "overseer of the village," or "the man at the head of the village." When a family or clan founds a new village, the head of the clan takes the position

of village chief, and his office is inherited by the succeeding clan-heads. If an additional family comes to live in the village, it is subordinate to the governing chief's authority. If there are in a village several clans who are equal in age and authority, a chief may be elected from among them alternately by the council of the old men. Generally the king tries to influence the appointment of village chiefs, but only in rare cases will he venture to vest one of his sons or another person under his influence with the office.

The chief is the representative of the village in all public matters. He is responsible for public order, for a just administration of the law and for the carrying out of the regulations proclaimed by the king or the leader of a secret society. He is, however, only the executive agent of the council composed of the clan-heads, of which he is the chairman, but without whose consent he is not allowed to perform any public action. Except in cases of criminal offenses, he has no compulsory powers at his disposal; and it depends on his personal influence whether his village is law abiding and in a state of prosperity, or whether general lawlessness and neglect prevail.

If a village chief is by illness or old age unable to fulfill his duties, one of his counselors, frequently his presumptive heir, is appointed as his temporary representative, but all decrees are issued in the name of the chief, who nominally holds office until his death. If a village chief has seriously neglected the interests entrusted to him, or has been found guilty

of objectionable behavior, he may, by an act of his council, be removed from his office. The revenues resulting from a chief's office consist of taxes and law-charges, as described below.

3. *The Paramount Chief or King.* The highest political unit among the Kpelle is the kingdom or paramount chieftainship. The king is called *kalon.* The Gbande and Gbunde call him *masa,* the Mende *maha,* and this name for "king" has been known among Mandingo tribes since the 13th century.

The king was originally the most distinguished clan-head in the oldest settlement of that part of the country which forms the kingdom. When, with the growth of population, some families left the chief village and founded new settlements, they did not separate entirely, but for various reasons maintained close relations with the mother village. Two or more villages which were united offered greater security against outward enemies, and, more important still, the inhabitants of the new settlement were desirous of having a share of the blessing which the common ancestor, who was buried and worshiped in the mother village, bestowed upon his descendants. The new settlement also needed for its prosperity the clan charm kept at the court of the oldest clan-father. So the whole group of families remained united by bonds of common descent and of religious worship, and their common head was the reigning patriarch of the group. The bulk of the population in the kingdoms of the Kpelle is found to this day in family groups. In most cases the group has been loosened and enlarged by migrations

within the tribe and by immigration from abroad, and also by the penetration of the Kpelle into the territory of other tribes. To-day within one kingdom may be found beside the Kpelle, some of the Gbande, Gbunde, Vai, Mende, Bassa, De, and Kru. Members of a foreign tribe are subject to the authority of the king in whose territory they live; an exception to this rule is sometimes found in the Mandingo colonies which have immigrated from abroad, who may have their own head and thus form a community within the community. As a rule, however, they have to pay the Kpelle king a tax for the right of gathering firewood, of harvesting palm-nuts, or of using the ferries and bridges.

The size of the kingdoms and the number of villages which belong to them vary considerably; they are generally larger and more populous in the interior than near the coast.

SELECTION OF THE KING

The right of succession to a king is inherited, but not necessarily in a definite line. There may be several families entitled to sit upon the royal stool, out of which, in a system of rotation, the king is taken. In most cases the eldest brother of the deceased king succeeds him, and if there is no brother, the eldest cousin is chosen. In cases where there is no successor to be found of the same generation, a son or a nephew may be elected.

Not infrequently several pretenders to the throne assert their claims and try to win a following, each

basing his pretensions upon some particular merit, such as greater age, wealth, general popularity, or high birth. It may take a year or more before the parties arrive at an agreement.

Before the elected king enters upon his office, he has to perform certain ceremonies which bring him into magical contact with his predecessors and confer their power upon him. On the grave of the last king a hut is erected in which his successor lives for several months. When this preparatory act is finished the new lord, in solemn procession and accompanied by a shouting crowd, is led into the town by the elders, and is proclaimed king in the presence of the people. In some tribes the subjects are allowed on the day of coronation to beat the new king, a ceremony whose original meaning is not known. O. Dapper, in his "Description of Africa" (Amsterdam, 1686, French edition), says: "Formerly, before a man was proclaimed king in Sierra Leone, it used to be the custom to load him with chains and thrash him."

Similar initiation ceremonies are practiced at the institution of a new *bodio* among the Grebo. The *bodio* is a kind of high-priest with worldly powers, whose office is hereditary in a certain family, from which the successor is elected by oracle.

A king entering on his office should be a man of mature age. The king of Densu was, when elected, between 45 and 50 years old, yet doubts were expressed as to his suitability on account of his too great youth. Other qualifications required are that he should be without physical infirmity; of a stately,

well-built figure; and well-experienced in dancing, playing, drinking, and dealing with women. In a word, he should be a person corresponding to the ideal of a real Kpelle man. But it is also expected that he be a man held in general respect, of sound judgment and wisdom in handling the affairs of public life.

The king holds office until his death. If, however, he grossly violates the laws of the country, or acts contrary to the welfare of the community, his office may be taken from him. This rarely happens, but it is stated that if a king has sold a free Kpelle man and refuses to undo his unlawful act, his men will ask the king of another tribe to seize their own king and punish him.

POWERS OF THE KING

Nominally the king has almost unlimited power. He decides on war and peace; administers the affairs of the country; represents the highest court of appeal in all law-cases; and had the right to pronounce a death-sentence or to pardon. He also directs the religious acts necessary for the prosperity of his people. But in reality the king is no more than the executor of the tribal will as expressed by the adult free men, led by the clan-heads. Without their consent he cannot decide any important matter and the initiative in questions concerning public welfare lies no less with the elders than with the king himself. A question of public interest may be discussed among the men of one or more villages, and

if they come to an agreement, they will submit it to the king as being the will of the people and he will be obliged to act accordingly.

The king's power is limited also by the influence of the Poro leader, who, as religious head of the tribal community often forces his will upon the king and upon all men. He is entitled to summon meetings, in which the king has to appear, but from which he may also be excluded, and in which important matters are settled, such as quarrels between two towns or two kingdoms, the punishment of witches, or the inauguration of a Poro school. While the king is responsible to the elders for each of his acts and decisions, the Poro leader decrees punishments without any control and has them executed by secret agents.

One of the public duties of the king is to keep the roads in order. Every village is linked with the neighboring villages and farms by some kind of road. Some are only miserable tracks, often swampy or overgrown, but the main roads between the larger towns are generally well kept; bushes and grass are cut down, swampy stretches are overlaid with grass or branches of trees or made passable by light bridges; larger stretches by so-called monkey-bridges, consisting of large poles stuck crosswise in the ground, into whose crossing one or more long sticks are laid, thus forming a sometimes rather precarious passage. Larger rivers are crossed on hanging bridges, which are generally carefully prepared. Canoes and rafts are also used for crossing large rivers. They are the king's property, but their

use is generally free; only at much frequented ferries are travelers expected to pay a small fee for being put across. By order of the king each village has to keep its part of the road in order. If long stretches of wood lie between two kingdoms, the boundary line between the two is marked by a clearing, up to which point each village must clean the road.

If between two larger towns the road is neglected, it is generally a proof that bad relations exist and that a state of war is impending. The reopening of peaceful traffic is inaugurated by the mutual promise to repair the roads. The news-service between the chief town and neighboring villages or towns is maintained by royal messengers who carry the king's staff or an elephant's tail as their sign of authority. An order transmitted by a royal messenger is strictly obeyed by everybody. In very urgent or important cases, or where the messenger is sent by the leader of a secret society, he will carry leaves of a plant called *tofa* as his credentials. At certain intervals the king himself visits his villages and settles pending questions.

THE KING'S REVENUES

Taxes are paid by the subjects in work or in natural products. All the young men in common prepare the farm of the king or the village chief, and gather in his harvest. They all unite in building a new house for him or a meeting-hall for the community; they are also expected to carry loads for

their ruler. The king receives his share of meat when game is killed, and also the tail and tusks of an elephant and the teeth and skin of a leopard. All the villages in turn have to supply food for the maintenance of the king's guests.

But the chief wealth of a king consists in his wives, his slaves and his serfs, whose working power in farming, hunting, fishing, industrial activities, and load-carrying is at his personal disposal. Guests who stay at the king's village and are provided with food and a house, are expected to give corresponding presents, and are particularly welcome when they are traders.

On the other hand the expenses of a royal household are high, and sometimes even exceed the revenues, so that only a man of personal wealth can afford to reign. He is responsible for the support of his numerous wives, serfs, and slaves, and their families. Though these keep their own houses and have to provide their own food, in extraordinary cases they expect some help from their lord, and he must pay the expenses for a burial, maintain their guests, and pay the bride-price if a man of his household marries. From time to time he entertains his leading men with food, palm wine and gin. The court is never without visitors: royal messengers, village chiefs, traveling Moslems, ordeal-men and diviners, counselors and other respected tribesmen, policemen or officials of the Liberian Government, all of whom may count upon hospitality.

The public appearance of the king is unostentatious. He is not to be distinguished in his dress

from other people. When he travels he is always accompanied by several attendants, one or two counselors, a slave, the sala woman and perhaps a female slave.

BURIAL OF A KING

When a king dies it is not customary to announce his death immediately. His "speaker" will announce first that he is suffering from severe illness, and is therefore unable to attend to affairs of state. The Poro leader alone will be notified at once, and he will come secretly to prepare for the burial, and to take steps for the election of a successor. In some tribes the successor also is informed, and he, under some pretext, formerly went with his men on a war-expedition from which he did not return until he had caught at least two men. Only then was the death publicly announced, and the two war-prisoners were sacrificed and buried together with the body of the king. The burial is directed by the Grand-Master of the Poro, and all non-initiated persons are kept strictly away. When a king dies away from his residence, a preliminary funeral "custom" takes place at the place of his death, but arrangements for the preservation of the corpse are made: the viscera are removed, the body is filled with dried herbs and then smoked preparatory to being sent home. Sometimes the body is temporarily buried and the skeleton is afterwards transported into the chief town. Here it is received with great solemnity and the people cry: "The king has come." Then the final burial and the funeral "custom" are celebrated.

The burial-place selected is either the king's own hut, or if the grave is outside the town, a hut is erected over it. But however it is brought to pass, the king will find his final abode in the midst of his own people, for with his death he has not ceased to be their benefactor and to bestow his blessings on them. His body is still the bearer of valuable magical powers which work for the benefit of his "children."

The utensils of a dead king and his insignia (the stool, staff, and tail of the horse or elephant) are kept by an old man to be transferred to his successor. They are used by many generations of rulers and are objects of religious worship, being considered parts of the tribal sanctuary.

LAW AND ITS APPLICATION

A "law," or "ordinance" is a prohibition laid upon a certain action, and generally means a regulation proclaimed by the king or Poro leader in particular cases. Besides these temporary prescriptions there are the tribal laws transmitted from immemorial times, called "custom" or tradition. One frequently hears the expression "it is a Kpelle custom" used in explaining some of their laws. When a new town is founded, the chief proclaims the tribal laws. This is called "laying down the regulations," but it means that the old laws are also to be observed in the new foundation.

Within a clan the clan-head is judge; within a village the village chief. The high court is formed

by the king and his counselors. Every lawsuit has to be brought before the court to whom both parties belong. If two members of one clan have a quarrel, their matter is settled by the clan-father, and if the accuser and accused belong to two clans living within the same village, they go to the village chief. Litigation between inhabitants of several villages is settled by the king's court.

Against any judicial decision an appeal to the next court of instance is possible. A man is also entitled to bring his matter immediately before a higher court instead of that which is competent to hear his case. The judge may accept or reject such a demand; but in the first case he is obliged to lay the case before the competent judge and hear his opinion before he gives his own decision. A great number of palavers, however, are not brought before an official judge at all but are settled by private persons. In almost every village there are elderly men, sometimes native Christian teachers, white missionaries or others who enjoy general confidence. Their wisdom is sought not only by litigants in their own village, but often by persons from distant places, and their decisions are almost always obeyed, even if they impose considerable fines.

A case between members of two different kingdoms belongs to the jurisdiction of the king whose subject is the accused person. In case a lawful settlement cannot be concluded, there is only the alternative of a friendly adjustment brought about by the two kings or their counselors. In former days if

this failed, the offended clan would wait for an opportunity to kidnap a member of the hostile clan and would retain him until his people gave the desired satisfaction. Blood-revenge was also practiced sometimes in case of a negative indemnification, where it was impossible to receive a positive compensation because the offender was subject to another authority. Here also friendly mediation between the two kings was generally tried first, but in many cases it did not lead to a satisfactory result. Then the offended clan would not rest until a member of the offending clan had been killed, though years might pass before an opportunity for this arose.

THE PROCEDURE

In a court procedure the accusation is raised by the accuser appearing personally before the judge. But in cases where the common welfare is concerned, such as in arson, continued robbery, black magic or intercourse with evil spirits, the judge himself may be the accuser. In bringing an action against a person, the accuser has to pay a fee of several dollars. If it is a matter of importance, both the accuser and the accused have to bring a number of persons, generally between four and eight, as security for the payment of fees to the judges and for the indemnification of the successful party. If the parents of the litigating parties are still alive, they are asked to attempt a friendly adjustment; if this fails, they have to give their con-

sent to the judicial procedure and are asked to assist. As a rule the judge also tries to bring about a reconciliation.

The pleadings are public and take place in the meeting-hall, both parties being accompanied by their families and friends. All free men are entitled to assist, slaves are permitted to be present, but women are only admitted when they have to make a statement before the court.

The transaction begins by "eating the king's charm." This is usually done by placing a small bit of the "medicine" in some water which the witness drinks. It is equivalent to taking an oath in our law courts. In some tribes the accuser, the accused, and the witnesses are all sworn, in others only the accuser and the accused or only one of them. More frequently the accused is bound by oath, in the belief that he will not venture to take an oath unless he is innocent, otherwise the charm would kill him. But if one party has been sworn, the other is entitled also to make affirmation by an oath. In such a case the court will not give judgment, but will wait for the charm to kill the guilty person. The two families who have thus been sworn against each other will henceforth live in eternal enmity.

After the chief has opened the case in a few words, the parties are called upon to speak, first the accuser and then the accused; their speeches may last a whole day. Interruptions by other persons—except expressions of applause—are immediately punished with a fine. When the statements of each party have been made, the judges retire for a secret session in

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

which the witnesses are questioned and the verdict is found. The decision of the court is then publicly proclaimed.

VIEWS OF THE KPELLE ON JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS

The aim of laws and their application is the protection of the property of an individual or more frequently of a family. The idea of punishment or of atonement does not exist. The Kpelle have, as it were, a civil law but not a criminal law. A person who has been damaged by another is entitled to claim damages. The sole object of the tribunal is to discover if and by whom a person, or a group of persons, has been damaged, and what indemnities are to be paid. In accord with this view there can be neither imprisonment nor capital punishment, nor any kind of sentence which dishonors. To commit an unlawful act is not necessarily infamous, but is rather regarded as an unsuccessful attempt to obtain an advantage at the expense of other people. It is true that in certain cases criminals were executed or otherwise punished, as in the case of a person possessed of an evil spirit, or one who was convicted of arson, or a man with an incorrigible tendency to steal. But even this was not regarded as a punishment in the proper sense, but merely as a means of ridding the community of an obnoxious member; for an evil spirit may enter a man without the latter's will or knowledge. If he steals or commits arson, it is because he has been born with a heart that irresistibly incites him to such actions.

And even such crimes, though frequently punished by execution, expulsion from the community, or in the case of theft, by cutting off one hand, might be settled by paying a sum of money and catching and killing the guilty spirit. If a person has—with or without intention—killed a man or misused another man's wife, he has committed a material damage just as if he had stolen or set a house on fire. The evil-doer or his family have to make amends in accordance with the amount fixed by tribal law for each judicial case. Important contraventions of law are generally atoned for by giving a number of persons in payment, or their equivalent in price. In the case of manslaughter it is necessary to pay the price of seven persons for the one person who has been killed.

The responsibility for an act and for the consequences arising out of it do not rest with the individual who has committed the deed, but are matters for the whole clan, whose head takes the settlement into his own hands. When a crime has been committed, the culprit is seized and put into the stocks, or is imprisoned. Then the king is notified, and he informs the man's family, asking them at the same time to pay the damages by a fixed date and intimating that the prisoner will be sold if the required sum is not forthcoming. The clan-chief makes an effort to provide the necessary number of persons from his own or his people's slaves, or, when only a pawn has to be given, he may take one or more members of his own family. These persons form a guarantee that the amount to be fixed by the court will be paid by the offender's family. If they are

not able to pay, the persons will be sold as slaves and the injured family paid out of the proceeds.

This method of procedure is followed in cases where there is no doubt about the guilt of the accused. In financial cases, however, or in "woman-palavers" (quarrels over women), which have come to claim the greater part of the court's activity, the verdict has to be reached by extended discussions which may last for days.

If a person is taken in the very act of committing a serious crime such as manslaughter or adultery, the damaged person may take the law into his own hands, and in the subsequent law-court the provocation for his act will be taken into account and he will either be acquitted or receive a light sentence, even though his retaliation should exceed the usual punishment.

It must be remembered that many of these customs are passing. Slavery is not recognized by the Government, and no chief has legal power to execute a criminal. In cases involving capital punishment the matter has to come before the District Commissioner, and the accused, with all the witnesses, must appear before a circuit court, which alone has the power of imposing a death penalty. In this case the sentence is duly carried out by the Liberian authorities.

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC LIFE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

OWNERSHIP OF LAND

The paramount chief or "king" is the owner of all the land belonging to his territory, and of its natural products. This ownership is, however, limited by the regulation that the king can only dispose of the soil in agreement with his elders and for the benefit of the community.

The king distributes the land at his disposal among his village chiefs, and these among the individual families of each village. This is done once for all at the time of immigration of a tribe. If a new village community branches off later the king provides it with an adequate piece of free land. When new families by natural growth or by immigration come into existence the village chief also allots farm land to them.

In theory the individual clan or family has only the usufruct of the soil as long as it pleases the chief, but in practice this usufruct develops into ownership, is transferred within the family by inheritance, and may be left to a third person, either gratuitously or for a rent, payable in money or products. But in such a case the produce of fruit trees standing on the land always belongs to the man who has

planted the trees. The same is true in those rare cases, when a family head, on account of grave misbehavior, is permanently forbidden the use of his land. Nobody can deprive him of the fruit of his own trees. A family head may bequeath his land only to a member of his own tribe. Strangers have to apply to the king. If their request is granted, they have to pay an annual fee in farm products and game.

Fishing and hunting are free for all members of the tribe, but a customary law provides that professional hunters and fishermen shall have an exclusive or preferential right to certain districts. If somebody else has killed any big game in such a district, he has to give part of the meat to the professional hunter. On the other hand no hunter is allowed to set traps on another man's farm land.

The natural products of the soil are the property of the person who holds the land. The wild products of the unoccupied land of a tribe are common property, but their exploitation may be regulated by the king, in order to avoid misuse and waste.

The whole territory is divided up among the tribes or clans, though the greater part may consist of bush or forest land. The leading men of a tribe know perfectly well the boundaries of their landed property. These boundaries have an immediate practical meaning by the fact that the roads have to be kept open up to those limits. If the line runs through a forest, a clearing is cut where the road crosses it, so that each village knows the limit of its road duty.

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

In the past, there has been little occasion for the disposal of any land belonging to the native groups in the interior. The Liberian Government has taken the position that unoccupied land belongs to the state, and has from time to time disposed of it as occasion demanded. There has been no objection raised to this, as land has been plentiful, and the natives move their villages about as the occasion suits them. They also rotate their farms from year to year, abandoning old clearings and taking in new ones.

The Government has a law under which any citizen of the republic may homestead ten acres of land, but few have taken advantage of it, outside of the settlements along the coast.

In the future, however, the idea of individual ownership will gradually be more pronounced, and the various families will settle down to the occupation of more definite plots.

While it may be desirable under present conditions to grant concessions of land to a few large companies for the development of certain industries, care should be taken not to alienate so much of the public domain as to work a hardship upon future generations. The ideal of a "freeman of the soil" should be just as cherished to the Liberian citizen, civilized and native, as it has been to the Briton or American. Opportunity should be afforded for the native people to develop into independent small

farmers, for after all, they are the strongest mainstay of any rural civilization.

MOVABLE GOODS: COMMON PROPERTY AND INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY

Just as the ownership of land is held upon a communal basis, so movable goods may also be the property of a community. The ownership in such a case is vested in the chieftainship, the village community, the clan, or a religious, professional or sport-unit. The head of the community is appointed as the responsible administrator of the property, assisted by the older members. All the adult male members and sometimes the females, have an interest in the property, but it can be disposed of only by the consent of the administrator and the great majority of the proprietors.

The common property of a chieftainship consists of the compounds occupied by the king and their furniture; the musical instruments, the public charms; the implements of former chiefs, which are regarded as sacred and form part of the ancestral worship; and the meeting-house. All these objects are inalienable and at the death of a king pass to the administration of his successor. In a similar way everything belonging to the outfit of a village chief is the property of the village community. The manufacture and maintenance of this property is the duty of the community and can be undertaken only upon agreement of the responsible members.

Of vital importance to the social life is the family

property, more correctly, that of the clan. It includes all the goods owned in common by the adult members of the clan: farm-products, cattle, fowls, tools and implements, objects of value, ornaments, cash, slaves and serfs. Generally the clan, as such, owns a certain amount of money which may be used in paying court-fines; in redeeming family members threatened with being sold for debt; in contributing to war-expenses or in giving a present to the king, thereby retaining clan-property in food-stuffs. Cattle and implements are generally owned as individual property, while a common stock of cash is retained by the clan, since an individual would hardly be in a position to provide a sum of money large enough to redeem a person or to finance other expensive transactions. If, however, such a case should arise and there is no common fund, all the family heads of the clan would be asked to make a contribution out of their private means.

Common property also consists of the articles forming the outfit of secret societies, their settlements, meeting-houses, masks, grass-clothing, musical instruments and the farms worked by the pupils. The administration of these goods is in the hands of the leader of the order, who has to secure the approval of the community before disposing of them.

In individual families the produce of the common farmwork serves primarily for the maintenance of the family members. The money earned by the sale of products from the soil, or by trading, is the husband's property. Sometimes, however, women and

adult married sons work a private farm of their own, or raise poultry or work for other people, and so acquire private means, part of which is to be delivered over to the family head, while the rest remains their own property. Slaves were allowed to work some days in each week for their own account, and thus to acquire property. When their master hired them to other persons, they were allowed to keep part of their wages.

If an article is found, or an animal whose owner is not known, the finder has to send word to the chief who proclaims the fact by the town-crier. If the owner is located and is able to prove his ownership, the property will be restored to him.

COMMERCE

As yet commerce is but poorly developed. In many districts, particularly those near the coast, there are no markets. Farther inland a market is held at least once a week. The market-place is within the village or in an open space between two villages. But in the main the exchange of goods takes place by barter and is in many places controlled by the village chief. The stranger, who generally carries goods with him, comes into the village as the guest of the chief. He is expected to make a present to his host, and the latter will give him a house to live in and food for himself and his people. These visits frequently develop into real trade, which in many cases is monopolized by the chief and considered as his prerogative, though as a rule the

village people also have some share in it. A stranger, therefore, is always welcomed in a village. He is a means of communication with the outside world; he brings a change into the monotony of life and offers the opportunity for acquiring some much coveted articles. The fame of a chief will grow by his reputation for maintaining peaceful relations with strangers. In prayers the desire is frequently expressed that many strangers may come into the village and bring good things.

The native man has had practically no coinage or money as a medium of exchange. Objects of a standard value for barter, which takes the place of money, are salt-loaves, iron rods, kola nuts, cattle, and formerly slaves. Goods of higher value were commonly calculated by slave prices, the expression used being that the article, or the animal, was worth so many "slave moneys," that was, so many slaves. The price of a male slave was equal to that of a cow. Salt was formed into loaves about two feet long and about an inch in diameter, which was wound round with palm leaves. Five bags of European salt of 50 pounds each made 300 salt loaves, which were worth one male slave or one cow. For 350 loaves a female slave could be bought, the higher price for a woman being explained by the fact that she was expected to bear children. Another kind of money is twisted iron rods about 18 inches long, flattened on both ends. They are worth about 15 cents each and are used as the common medium of exchange in most of the villages.

TRADES

The natives ply a number of useful trades, utilizing the material around them to provide materials needed. Of industrial productions mat and wood work hold the first place. Mats are made out of the fibers of raphia, oil palm, pandanus and different grasses. Fine patterns are produced by dyeing the material in yellow, red and blue dyes which are obtained from native products. Mats are made in various sizes, forms and quality, up to thick and substantial grass mattresses. The native is very adept in weaving all manner of articles needed in his daily life, such as different kinds of baskets; fishing-baskets, weir-baskets, pouches and neatly colored bags for holding rice. He also makes hammocks, fishing-nets and ordinary nets for carrying different articles; ropes, doormats, slings, and baskets for carrying loads on his back which are called kinjahs. Many articles also are made of wood. They are carved with a very primitive knife, the various parts being often joined together with plugs and pegs as iron nails are not used. The stranger will be surprised to find in the houses of chiefs or of other wealthy people, and sometimes also in palaver halls, good chairs constructed in the European way, with backs and even with arms, the seat consisting of grass-plaiting. For everyday use low stools are made with concave seats, carved out of one piece of wood. Bamboo chairs and stools are also found.

In districts where pottery is not made, they use

plates and dishes of wood in various forms; but potter's wares are manufactured, always by women, in many parts of the country and form an important part of the interior trade. Pots, kettles, and various articles of iron and brass are also in use. Among kitchen implements tastefully carved wooden spoons may be mentioned, and gourds in all possible varieties are used for eating and drinking, and for storing away flour, rice, pepper and other articles of food. Those with a long stalk serve also for clyster pipes. Among articles carved out of wood are hair-combs, sandals with leather straps, which are worn in rainy weather or on thorny land; trumpets in imitation of ivory tusks; sword-sheaths covered with leather; big mortars for pounding rice and tubers (cassava, yam, colocasia); small holders for snuff and kola nuts; drums, boards for games, masks and canoes. The method of manufacturing many of these objects is difficult to learn, because the art is taught in the Poro or Sande schools and is therefore kept a secret.

The blacksmith's shop is generally located at the entrance of the village. It consists of a shed, resting on strong poles and covered with palm thatch and surrounded by a wall about three feet in height. Next to the palaver house the blacksmith's shop is the favorite place for meeting people and for talking. The smith is a kind of confidential person for the whole village and is conversant with all family secrets. He receives no pay for work done on orders from the chiefs, but he is free from any military service.

BUILDING HOUSES

The natives in many parts of Liberia erect neat houses. They are not of a uniform type. Within a given district and even within the same town houses may be seen with a circular, oval, oblong or square floor plan. The most frequent types in western Liberia are round and oval houses. Where a house is to be erected the ground is cleaned and smoothed over; the women carry clay in pots or baskets, with which they build a base about 18 inches high on which the house rests. Long poles are rammed into the ground close to each other to form the skeleton for the walls. On the top they are connected with a framework of strong poles to form the roof, on which the thatch is fastened. The wall poles are daubed with clay inside and out, the wet clay being formed into balls, thrown against the poles and then smoothed over with a stone, shell or a piece of board. Sometimes the walls are neatly whitewashed and have at their base a painting of mud in which cow-dung has been mixed, resembling tar. The floor is made of mud. This, and also the daubing and smoothing of the walls is the women's work. The roof is thatched with palm branches or large leaves. The thatching of the roof requires particular skill and is generally done with great neatness.

Many huts have a ceiling formed of raphia ribs or poles, which is reached by means of a ladder. On the floor rice, cotton, and tools are usually stored.

Most of the houses are built with an earthern ledge around the outside, and some also have a

smaller ledge on the inside wall. The ledge serves as a bench by day, and the inside ledge as a bedstead at night. In the Vai country and occasionally in other districts the chiefs and other well-to-do people have houses of two or three rooms, with a front or back porch. The doors are often carved out of the buttresses of the cotton tree; sometimes they consist of a mat of raphia ribs, which can be let down like a rolling-blind. Wooden window shutters and other woodwork about the buildings, such as railings to the front porches and transoms over the doors and windows are refinements met with in many houses of the better class. Sometimes a separate part of the house is used as a kitchen, or a common kitchen built outside may be used by several families.

The wooden doors generally have a latch string to keep them closed, or a pliable stick may be fastened to the square beam above the door, by which the door closes automatically. In the hinterland door and veranda posts are sometimes artistically ornamented by carvings or turning; for instance the middle part of a post may be carved into two pairs of doubly entwined vines; or a part of the post may be hollowed out, and in the hollow two movable balls are carved. Tortoises, lizards, chameleons and snakes are carved on many house posts, besides simple lineal ornaments and decorations.

The one-room house is the commonest type. In houses with two or three rooms, the rooms are connected by a doorway, the middle room being the entrance hall, where a fire is always kept, while the

House of a Chief in a Gola Village
Note the excellent carpenter work and painting

Bronze Figures from Eastern Liberia
Made by members of the Geh tribe

Native Dancers at Ganta

Members of the Leopard Society Under Arrest
at Sanoquelleh

two others are sleeping-rooms. Here also a fire is kept smoldering at night.

A third type of house is a long rectangular dwelling from 30 to 40 feet in length with a gable roof, containing several rooms, each with a separate entrance. In larger towns, guest houses for travelers have been built by order of the chief, which generally have a gable roof, and are provided on the inside with ledges for sleeping.

THE PALAVER HOUSE

Each village has one or more meeting-halls or palaver houses commonly called "kitchens" or "country kitchens." They are considerably larger than the ordinary huts and are rectangular or oval in plan. The walls are about 3 feet high, very broad, so that they serve as benches, and sometimes a railing is placed upon them. The roof rests on strong posts, the floor being made of clay. Inside the hall are several fireplaces, over which baskets of palm ribs, called driers, are suspended, for drying meat and fish. The furniture of the palaver house consists of hammocks, mats, and occasionally some chairs, stools, and benches. The ground floor in these halls is sometimes so high, that they have to be reached by a ladder. They generally have two entrances, which are barred against goats and sheep by beams or planks. The palaver house is used for all community purposes.

The chief's compound is usually in the immediate neighborhood of the palaver house. As a rule it

consists of a collection of huts connected together by a wall or fence. The chief's house can generally be distinguished by its size, its painting, its rich woodwork, and the nice hammocks and beautiful country cloths that are frequently found there.

ART

Native tools almost invariably bear some kind of ornamentation produced generally by carving or burning. They are usually manufactured by the owner or by a man for a member of his family. Thus they become the personal property of a family, and as they take a long time in the making they are expected to last for many years. This explains the extraordinary care and skill often employed in making a tool, and the reluctance to part with implements that have been in the possession of an individual or of a family. They are almost a part of the owner's self and a bearer of his personal power.

On the walls of houses drawings in charcoal or chalk are often to be seen, mostly of men and animals in rather clumsy outlines. Finer figures on a larger scale are sometimes painted on the long high walls that separate the meeting-place of the Poro people from the street and the neighboring village. On such a wall about eight or ten yards long, a full-sized leopard was observed in one village, surrounded by lizards, snakes, chameleons, and antelopes. The whole drawing was encircled by waving lines for a border. Figures of animals are frequently seen on houses, but most of these drawings

are reproductions of scenes the artist has observed while on the coast: men in European clothing smoking pipes or cigarettes, a walking-stick in their hand; men on horseback or riding in a car. Steamers, a favorite subject, are painted in great detail from an evidently keen observation: anchor and chain, smokestack, cabin windows, flags and officers in uniform. A drawing of a railway train is rare as few persons have ever been in a country where railways exist. All these drawings are reproduced from memory, never from life itself. They are not found in all parts of the country; in some villages there are none, in others almost all the houses are decorated with them. It depends on whether an artist lives in the village or not. If an art-lover builds a new hut and is himself not an expert in making good drawings, he will ask the village artist, if there be one, to make the decorations. His example will soon be followed by others. On the other hand there are of course people who do not take the least interest in such esthetic things. It is however expected of a chief and other wealthy men that their houses should be provided with some decoration and more than ordinary furnishings.

Other and more important expressions of artistic instinct are their dances, songs, and drummings, and their endless wealth of stories and riddles. "To be a good story-teller" is considered by the natives as a worth while accomplishment, and such a man enjoys a fame throughout the whole district in which he lives.

SECRET SOCIETIES

As a means of social control secret societies are one of the dominant factors in native life in West Africa. The most influential is known as the Poro, the head of which often outranks the chief in the importance of his office. The corresponding society for women is known as the Sande or Bundu. While this is a separate organization it is under the control of the members of the Poro.

There are a number of charm societies which have for their purpose the "feeding" of a charm in order to guarantee the well-being of the community or of the members of the society. The Deer Horn, Leopard, Snake and Alligator societies may be classed in this group. There are also a number of sport societies among the men for recreation, games and sports. Then there are certain organizations for the carrying on of arts and crafts, such as blacksmithing, goldsmithing, or similar trades, the membership of which is limited generally to certain families.

In every community there is also the medicine man, who belongs to a certain fraternity, and who engages in the practice of medicine. Space forbids the detailed description of many of these societies. In Chapter IX a rather full discussion is given of the Poro society for men, and its corresponding Sande society for women, in view of the fact that these organizations are of importance to those who are interested in the question of education.

THE DEER HORN SOCIETY

Among secret societies, that of the Deer Horn deserves to be mentioned. It is a charm society, that is, an association whose common possession is a charm and whose vocation it is to utilize this charm for the detection of things occult. The charm is preserved in the horn of a waterbuck, whence the name of the order is derived. Its task is to find out and catch wicked spirits, to discover murders and to counteract the evil doings of malignant agencies. It is an institution protective of the community and as such as closely united with the Poro and enjoys the support of the public authorities.

If in a village persons are accused of possessing evil spirits, if unexplained deaths frequently occur, or if people disappear, the chief calls in the deer horn people, and charges them to find out the ungoverned power threatening the community, and to destroy it. The head of the society will first send some spies into the village who secretly and casually make investigations as to the general feeling among the population and try to find out any suspicious characters. When the spies have reported to their head, the latter himself will come with all the members needed for the proceeding. A place is cleared outside the village and here the preparation of medicines is begun. A day is fixed for a public meeting and all inhabitants are forbidden to leave the village on that day. The heads of the order appear early in the morning in their official dress, wearing a leopard-skin cap, the side flaps of which droop over

the face, and a leopard-tail hanging down from the back of the cap, to which a small bell is sometimes attached at the end. They also wear a jacket of leopard-skin; the wrists, elbows, and ankles are adorned with strips of leopard skin. The costume being completed by short cloth knickers, trimmed with leopard skin, and leopard skin gaiters.

They walk in procession through the village, dancing, drumming, singing, and blowing a flute. The belief is that the spirits are irresistibly attracted by the sound of music, and follow in its train, or seat themselves on a kola tree, a banana tree, or the roof of a house where they can be easily caught. After this performance all the huts are searched, and wherever a person is found sleeping, he is considered the owner of one of the spirits. They believe the man cannot awake because the spirit is imprisoned and is thus unable to return into the body of his host. But even if the owner of a spirit should not be discovered immediately, he will soon die, having been deprived of his spirit. If, therefore, a person happens to die soon after a public purification has taken place in a village, everybody knows the cause of his death.

Sometimes the people are ordered to place themselves outside the village, standing in a row. The spies call the names of those who are suspected. Certain questions are asked, and the suspected persons are then submitted to an ordeal. Those convicted are asked by the chief to pay a sum of money for their redemption. If they agree, they are given time to send for their people, but they themselves

are in the meantime put into stocks. Formerly, after the society had exacted from the man or his family all the money they wanted, they usually released him, but even then they would sometimes execute him by burning him upon some pretext. In other cases the chief and his assistants, while wildly dancing, would suddenly attack the accused persons and knock them down with heavy clubs. Then they were quickly drawn away and thrown into a fire to be burnt to death.

THE LEOPARD SOCIETY

Another society which is met in West Africa, especially in Sierra Leone, in certain parts of Liberia and of the Ivory Coast, is known as the "Leopard Society," the "Leopard Union," or the "Leopard People." This society differs essentially from the Poro and Sande. In these two organizations practically all the men and women of a community are included, and the orders are recognized as public and social institutions. The Leopard Society, however, is limited to men and only to those who are selected as its members. It is greatly feared by the natives and has, on account of its dangerous character, been outlawed by local chiefs as well as by the government.

It seems to have originated in the Mende countries and neighboring districts. Although there are Leopard societies in some parts of Liberia, they have never had the influence that they once exercised in Sierra Leone. The members of the order have

adopted the leopard as their protective animal, or totem, but membership is not strictly limited to initiated members. Influential men whose partnership seems desirable are freely admitted and are often pressed into membership. In the strongholds of the society all the men of importance in the community are sometimes compelled to become members.

The chief aim of the institution is to "feed" the charm owned by the society, and thus to guarantee the well-being of the community. The charm is generally kept in a bag. It consists of various ingredients, as for instance, a hen's egg, or the white of it, a snail, certain animal bones, the blood of a rooster, or the blood fat and flesh of a man. The society is governed by a council of old men. Their meetings take place at a fixed spot in the depths of the forest. Here new members are admitted after having been recommended by some of the leading men. The marks of the society are cut into the novitiate's body by lifting up the skin with an iron needle and cutting it with a narrow knife. The wound is rubbed with the juice of a plant in order to secure a distinct scar, and it is generally placed somewhere in the neighborhood of the hips so as to be covered by the loin cloth except when it is necessary to show it. Some of the blood from the wound is poured on the charm and the neophyte is said to be "married to the charm" and has been admitted into the membership of the "children of the charm." He has to swear an oath of allegiance and of absolute silence. Whoever betrays the secret of the order is killed. When a stranger becomes an involuntary witness to the pro-

ceedings at a meeting of the society, he is either put to death or compelled to join.

Some publicity has been given to this society from time to time by people in search of the sensational. The society differs little from ordinary secret societies among the West African natives except in its utilization of human beings in its fetish worship. In Sierra Leone the Alligator Society had considerable influence some years ago. In this the members had the alligator as their totem and were said to cover their bodies with its skin and seize and carry off people passing in boats. It was also said to be a protective society in that it disposed of undesirable members of the community, but the order has been practically suppressed by the British Government. In the Human Leopard Society the members who are designated to bring in a victim will dress their bodies in the skin of a leopard, lie in wait for their victim along a trail, seize him and slay him and carry him into the woods for their ceremonial.

While the ceremonies may degenerate into cannibalism, it does not seem that this is so much from a desire to eat flesh as for ceremonial purposes and to "feed the charm," thereby bringing strength to the members or protection to the community.

A number of these members were under arrest at Sanoquelleh in northern Liberia in the spring of 1926 awaiting trial by the Liberian Government. One of the officials of the government stated at the time that it was the custom of the members to dress themselves in leopard skins or to paint their bodies with brown clay, and throw a net over their heads

through which the sunlight shone, thus giving their bodies the spotted appearance of a leopard. They had artificial claws which they fastened to their hands and short spears which were used to slay their victims. The attack was usually so sudden that if the intended victim or his companions escaped it was seldom possible to tell whether it had been made by a real leopard or by a human one. A more complete account of this order and its operations in Sierra Leone may be obtained by reading the book by Mr. K. I. Beatty, entitled "Human Leopards," who was a resident for some years in Sierra Leone at the time of the suppression of the society. Other descriptions have been given by French writers on the Ivory Coast.

On certain parts of the Kru Coast the use of human flesh for charms or for sacrifices has persisted until very recent times. In 1914 a little boy on his way with a message to a mission station near a town was seized by members of a charm society upon the public road, cut with a knife, hidden away in the bush under a cotton tree and brought into the town at night, where he was finally killed and his body eaten. It is stated that part of the child's flesh was put over the fire, and the fat caught in a bottle and carried down to another town to be used for "war medicine." The murderer was seized by the local authorities, confessed his crime and died on the beach while undergoing the "sasswood ordeal." Others implicated with him were also compelled to pass through the sasswood poison test.

ORDEALS

A favorite method of trial is by the ordeal. In Kpelle it is called *zalo,* by the Liberians "sasswood." "To play sasswood" is to prepare an ordeal. Sasswood is the poisonous bark of a tree (*Erythraphlaeum guineense*). It is put into water which the suspected person has to drink. If he vomits the poison, he is innocent; if he does not, he is guilty and will soon die. If the result is severe sickness, the ordeal has to be repeated; this time the effect will be so thorough that in all probability no further repetition is required.

The more frequent forms are, however, the switch ordeal and the palm-oil ordeal. The ordeal is a means to discover a guilty person among a larger group, or to cause a suspected or accused individual to confess his guilt. The ordeal is made use of by private persons as well as by those in authority to discover guilty parties, in cases of theft, bad sorcery, dealing with evil spirits, membership in a prohibited society, poisoning, or the infidelity of a wife. In serious cases the ordeal master is invited by the chief to conduct the ordeal; if a private man wants to invite him he can do so only with the permission of the chief. The man who invites him has to give some pay in advance—a retaining fee—in addition to the money with which he has to "take the master out of the ordeal" when the proceedings are over. He is also expected to maintain the master during the proceedings. Before the master begins to "lay"

the ordeal, he "eats" the charm of the man who has invited him, or that of the village chief. The purpose of this "eating" is to guarantee that in case he should administer the ordeal deceitfully, he will die. The chief's charm is preferred because it is the strongest in the community and it is impartial. If the accused's parents are still alive, they will be called and will try to influence their son to make a voluntary confession.

The writer was present one day when a switch ordeal was administered, about six o'clock in the morning on an open space near a village. The ordeal master sat on a mat, and had beside him a wooden bowl containing a grayish colored broth, which was the "medicine." In his hand he carried a short stick. Beside him a woman was kneeling, naked, except for a narrow strip round her loins. Her body was rubbed with medicine and in her hand she carried a bundle of rods. The case in question was that of a theft of fifteen cases of gin, the perpetrator being unknown. The accuser presented the facts, and while he was speaking, the master rubbed some more medicine on the woman's body. He touched with his stick the bundle of rods and talked to it. By this touch the charm began to act on the woman; she became ecstatic; her whole body shook, her face becoming distorted and the eyes rolling wildly. She began madly to scratch the ground with her rods, then she whirled the bundle in the air and struck it violently on the ground. This was repeated several times, while the master continuously sprinkled his

broth on the bundle, addressing it loudly and asking it questions. First he called the names of a number of villages ("laid their names into the ordeal") where the theft might have been committed. When the right village had been discovered, he called the names of the men living in it, until he had come to the culprit. While this was going on, the woman did not utter a word, the replies to the master's questionings being given by the bundle making an assenting movement when the right names were mentioned. When the man had been discovered, the master with a triumphant look addressed those present, telling them how foolish it was to doubt the power and knowledge of the ordeal!

When the guilty person is present at the meeting, the medicine will make the woman jump up and strike the man with her bundle until he confesses. A similar session, in which the medium was a man, is described thus by a native. The man's body is rubbed with medicine, he is seated upon the ground with a staring look. His assistants blow flutes, drum and whirl rattles to call the spirit down on the medium. Finally the medium begins to crawl about among the crowd, until he has found the guilty person and then jumps upon him.

A person indicated by an ordeal as guilty will as a rule submit to its decision, whether he is really guilty or not. A denial would in any case be useless, as public opinion would not dare to oppose the voice of the ordeal, but would insist that it should be obeyed.

SAND CUTTING

Sand cutting, sand playing, or sand seeing is divination by figures drawn in the sand. The sand cutter or sand player is always a Moslem (moli). The art was originally Mohammedan and is practiced in many parts of pagan West Africa. The sand cutter plays an important part in the religious life of the natives. Hardly one significant act in private, and still less in public, life is effected without the sand cutter's verdict being sought. When a public offering or a family offering is to be made, he decides the object and the form of the sacrifice. He discovers if a banana has to be planted for a woman, if a murder has been committed by a bush-leopard, a human leopard, or just by a common man; he provides for the husband the medicines which secure easy childbirth for his wife; he tells the hunter why he has no luck in hunting and what has to be done to correct his fortune; he finds out thieves and bad sorcerers; he tells the trader if his enterprise will prosper; he informs the chief about the dangers of an imminent war and how they may be averted. As Moslems and representatives of Allah sand-cutters enjoy great authority among the natives and their prescriptions are carefully followed. What the sand player says, or rather "what he has seen in his sand," is the voice of God.

CHAPTER VIII

RELIGION AND MEDICINE

RELIGION A PART OF LIFE

Religion for the African is not something separate from the rest of life. His world is divided into a sacred and a profane section, but is a unity in the sense that he does not recognize a difference between the profane and the religious. His whole activity is directed towards the preservation of his own existence and that of his family and the avoidance of anything which according to his experience may do harm. From our standpoint the means used for this end may be partly natural and partly supernatural, but for him such a division does not exist.

To this identification of things and actions which in our view are different, the native adds another corresponding identification. To him, men (living as well as dead), demons, animals, plants and inanimate objects are essentially of the same kind. They lead their existence on equal conditions, and are equally able to influence man for good or for evil. The native has towards them all the same feelings of awe and respect and fights against them with the same means. This does not mean that he is not conscious of the difference between a living and a

dead man, or between a man and an animal, but this difference is not fundamental, and his attitude towards all the objects in his world is the same.

This attitude explains his actions. When we see him trying to persuade a man by friendly words, we call his conduct sensible, but if he treats a tree or a stone in the same way, it is nonsense in our eyes. We understand him when he attempts to catch a leopard in a trap, but we are baffled when he undertakes to appease a leopard by offering him a sacrifice. To the native mind both actions are equally sensible and effective.

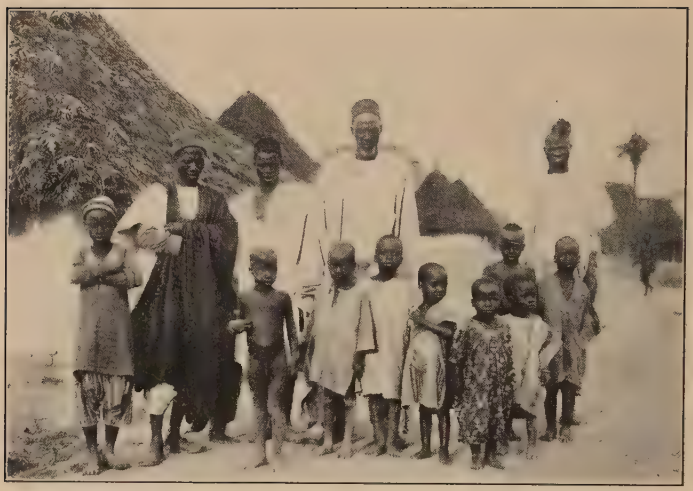
Among the most important objects in his environment are his fellow men. He has to live on good terms with them and gain their good will by polite conduct, or by doing them favors and giving them occasional presents. Dead people have to be treated in the same way. They are spoken to in the same polite manner, offered food and drink and cared for in every possible way, because he believes that they influence a man's fate just as living people do.

The distance between man and animal is as small as that between man living, and man dead. A man changes into an animal at will, and in folk stories animals act like men. When a swarm of locusts or caterpillars threatens to devastate the farms, some of them are caught and by kindly speaking are persuaded to leave the place. A man will say, "Now turn away to your home, give our greetings to your people and leave us alone, for there is nothing left here for you to eat."

Totem-plants will have a bit of cotton laid by

NATIVE VILLAGE IN THE INTERIOR
Sacred trees in the background, grave of a former chief on left

THE MEETING HALL, OR "PALAVER HOUSE," IN A VAI VILLAGE
Note how close together the houses are



Mandingo Chief and Children at Sanoquelleh

Native Laundry Near Ganta

The use of common streams for laundry and drinking purposes is one of the chief causes of disease.

them to use as clothing. Objects can be killed just as are men and animals; for instance, when a funeral occurs, the clothes and valuables before being deposited on or in the grave for the use of the departed person are "killed," that is, they are torn in one corner. When an unused trail becomes overgrown, to the native mind it actually "dies." A sterile farm and an abandoned house are "dead." The word dead is not used in a symbolical sense but in a very real one.

The religious instruments in prominent use by the native are sacrifices and charms, both being restoratives, the first for dead people, the second for living men. A sacrifice is an offering to the dead which is in no way to be distinguished from a present given to a living man. The offering is frequently accompanied by a prayer, that is, the receiver is reminded not to forget to confer the favor expected in return for the present, in the same manner as a chief or any other respected person is given a present by one of his subjects.

CHARMS AND "MEDICINE"

The Kpelle have no specific expression for "charm," but use a common word for "poison," "medicine" and "charm." As by a fence goats are prevented from entering a farm, so by a rope laid around the base of a house, haunting spirits are kept from gaining entrance at night. Chasing away birds by waving one's hand and driving away an expected hostile army require identical actions. A

captured animal is enclosed in a cage, a captured spirit in a bottle or a bag.

As harmful agencies have to be kept away, so helpful ones have to be appropriated. This is done by physical touch or better still by incorporation. As the body of a man becomes hot or cold by touching a hot or cold object, so does a man become strong by touching or eating strong objects or animals. These qualities may be thus transferred not only to a living person, but also to the dead, and to charms. They feel the same needs as a man and satisfy them in the same way. When a living man takes food his system is strengthened and his temper improved. When a dead person is given food he is no longer an ill-humored haunting spirit, but is transferred into a benevolent protector; his strength and good will have been increased.

The religious practice of the native is not the result of a reflection upon higher things but springs out of the pressing necessities of every day life. He fights the enemies which are most harmful: hunger, sickness, and death, and their causes; and he strives to obtain what to him seems most valuable: food, health and long life. Everything beyond this circle is of little interest, and is therefore not an object of religious activity.

Moral consciousness and duties grow out of clan life, but are only loosely, if at all, connected with religion. The only point where morality and religion come into close touch is in the idea of God. God is good. He punishes the wicked and supports the weak. He does not like the evildoer. These

convictions are frequently expressed, but one gains the impression that they are not deeprooted and scarcely influence actual life.

IDEAS ABOUT GOD

God is called in Kpelle "*gala.*" The meaning of this word is unknown. But as in many neighboring languages the word for "God" is identical with that for "sky," it seems not improbable that *gala* is etymologically connected with *gele* "sky." In the Loma dialect the corresponding word *gala* means both "sky" and "God." The ideas about God are in some respects indefinite and vague. Sometimes he is simply identified with the sky. The sky is everywhere and above everything; it is infinite. "Wherever you go, you will always find the sky above your head; did you ever come to a place where the sky is not?" On the other hand the sky is also regarded as the garment or the residence of God. He is the ultimate cause of everything existing; with him lies the responsibility for the order of things in the world. He is the one who finally directs man's fate. He has "sent" (the expression "made," or "created" is scarcely used here) men and animals, plants and rocks, arts and knowledge, secret societies and good charms into the world, and he has predetermined to each creature its own fate. Therefore the hunter will not say that he is going to kill *an* animal, but *his* animal, that is, the animal allotted to him by God. If a man dies in old age, he has completed the lifetime apportioned to him by God.

Such a one enters immediately into "the village of God." People say of him: "God has come to meet him"; or "God has taken him into his own home"; or "He has gone home."

The characteristic qualities of God are his kindness and his justice. The natives are never tired of repeating these attributes of God. The most frequent saying about God is: "There is no insincerity in God." He acts honestly with a man and is not malignant. "God is good," "He is a merciful God."

Good luck, success, favor with one's fellowmen all come from him; an unlooked-for piece of good luck is ascribed to him—"God, I thank thee for having shown me a favor"; "God has helped me to-day." In misfortune they complain: "God has not helped me to-day," or "God is closing his eyes against me to-day." These expressions seem to reveal a personal confidence in God, a conviction that God is not only great, powerful and at all times present, but that he deals kindly with men, and that one may trust one's self to him in cases where charms and other agencies fail, or when one is abandoned by men. He who has to suffer from injustice is advised not to take his revenge into his own hand, but to leave it to God. God is the last resort in utter distress. In a sudden danger or in a deadly fright a man will exclaim: "Oh, Lord God, help me!"

God's greatness, his unconditional kindness and his great distance seem to make his worship unnecessary. He is too far above any human measure to need gifts or to be influenced by them. It is, however, noteworthy that in most of the sacrifices

offered to ancestors or other spirits the name of God is called upon, or they are offered in the name of God. A typical form of such a prayer is: "We bring this sacrifice after the manner of our old people; as they have taught us, so we come with our offering that thou mayst bless us. Acknowledge our sacrifice, help us in sickness and hunger, give us good luck and favor."

This conviction of God's kindness as his main attribute has not been molded by Islamic influence. The nature of the Mohammedan "Allah" is altogether different from that of "gala"; nor is their view an outcome of Christian teaching. It is found everywhere in West Africa, markedly in regions where Christianity has never been taught.

The moral conceptions about good and evil are derived from God. On asking a person about these things, the first reply would probably be: "Our old people teach us what is right and wrong," or "We learn it in the Poro," but the elder people will say that they owe this knowledge to God. But the thought of God, or fear of his punishment, will hardly ever keep a man from doing wrong nor will it at all influence his actions. God is the source of the moral law, but not of moral actions; these latter receive their stimulus and character from the teachings in the Poro-bush. A man is not good in his actions because God has ordered him to be so, but because he has been taught so in the Poro school, and because the public conscience condemns wickedness as far as members of one's own community are concerned.

MAN, LIVING AND DEAD

The most striking demonstrations of religious practice among the natives are the sacrifices or *sala,* which are met with everywhere in the neighborhood of human dwellings, on graves, at the entrance of villages, under big trees, on road crossings, and even within the bush. When asked to whom these offerings are dedicated, the general reply is, "They belong to God." But this is only partially true, and is an opinion fostered by Moslems, who direct many of the pagan offerings, as has already been stated. In reality most of the sacrifices are offerings to the dead. The views on the dead and their worship take a prominent part in religious life and are therefore considered first.

The border line between a dead and a living person is rather indefinite. A dead man is aware of what is going on around him. He hears the voices of those speaking to him and knows their doings. But he is not able to move or talk; in this respect he is like a person sleeping. Even this handicap is not a real one, for possibly he does not want to talk, and natives know of many personal experiences in which a man has been pursued by his dead friend or relative, and how dead men move in their graves, and utter sounds. It is often said that a deceased person has been seen ascending the Mountain of the Dead carrying a bundle on his head which is supposed to be the cloth with which his body was enshrouded. In the huts erected over the graves of chiefs or other wealthy people chairs are sometimes placed or ham-

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mocks hung to be used by the deceased. Before a person is buried he is addressed by his family and friends. In order to attract his attention he is given a light stroke with a switch as one might do in waking a sleeping person. Presents are given to him for the family members already in the underworld, and he himself is provided with food.

At the same time, the change that he has undergone is recognized. He is no longer a "living person," but a "dead man." He is, especially during the first months after his death, an inhabitant of two worlds, or rather he exists between the two, but is changed in his appearance. He may appear in his former likeness, but more frequently people will see him in the shape of a little child, or in the form of a flame, a firefly or a bird. It is of no concern to the native whether the dead really eats the food presented to him on his grave or not. They know that these offerings please him, and that it is their duty to give them to him, and that is sufficient. In the case of an old and highly respected man, these offerings may be continued for a number of years.

The deceased retains those personal qualities which characterized him in his life. A bad man, one suspected of having dealt in black magic or of being possessed of an evil spirit, remains wicked when dead. He is buried outside the village, and is prevented from returning by the use of fences, of charms, or other means. Sometimes the dead body is carried out of the house, not through the door, but through an opening made expressly for the pur-

pose, so that the deceased may not be able to find his way back.

On the other hand an old and influential man is a benefit and a blessing to the surviving community after death. He is still possessed of the same magical powers that upheld the life of the clan during his lifetime and manifests the same kindly disposition towards his people—if he is not neglected. But if forgotten, he becomes a haunting spirit. This is particularly true of people who have not reached a mature age, and therefore continue to exist in a dissatisfied revengeful mood, visiting the places of their former life, their main desire being to take vengeance upon the people who have caused their death.

If a spirit becomes unbearable through his frequent hauntings, he is appeased by sacrifices, or conjured by rubbing blood on the threshold of the hut which he is accustomed to visit, or by chanting magical songs above his grave. In extreme cases the body is sometimes exhumed and burnt; then the spirit, being really identical with the body, ceases to exist after the disappearance of the body.

Besides this idea of the physical presence of the dead among the living there is another belief that a person while dying goes upon a long journey to a place where he abides with his own people. When an old man dies, people say, "He has gone to the village of God," or "He has gone home," or "God has come to meet him." An old man is a favorite of God, who protected him from all evil influences of demons and wicked men during his lifetime and permitted him to live to an advanced old age.

"THE OLD PEOPLE"

The individual existence of the deceased depends upon the position he filled in life. An unimportant person will soon be forgotten and his grave neglected; a king or a chief receives care and worship long after his death. But gradually all individuals are absorbed into a collective group of spirits generally spoken of as "the old people."

Their common habitat is near the village to which they belonged, generally in a big cotton tree whose base is kept clean of bush and grass; here at monthly intervals, or more frequently, sacrifices are offered to them. As these cotton trees are generally inhabited by swarms of weaver birds, it is also assumed that the "Old People" are incorporated in these birds. The leaving of such a tree by the weaver birds is regarded as an ill omen. The guardian spirits have left the place, and the people must consider whether or not they too had better look out for another dwelling. Another abiding place for the old people are the sacred fishes.

The head of a family or clan may be reborn in one of his grandchildren. The newborn child is, in such a case, treated as the honored ancestor of the family. This belief in reincarnation which may be favored by family likeness, is another expression of a desire for uninterrupted continuity of family existence, and for the cohesion of the living generation with those of the past. The same vital power is flowing through all of them and is being passed on from one generation to another.

SOUL, SPIRIT, AND SPIRITS

The Kpelle have no expression for the "soul" of living men. Man is an individual equipped with certain powers which have their seat in certain parts of his body, but among them there is none that would correspond to our conception of the soul. A word meaning "breath," "life," or "to breathe," might be used for "spirit," as is done in many languages, but the Kpelle do not connect any religious idea whatever with this word; for them it is only the physical breath and as such a demonstration of life. Their word for "heart" stands also for the mind; in the same way the head is considered as the seat of the intellect, and the stomach as the place where the feelings are located. A man's actions are directed by "the voice of his heart." His heart "persuades" him to act in a certain way, or a man may have two hearts, a good and a bad one, and each tries to influence him. The shadow of man is something like his double or other self. If he loses it, which may happen at noon, when the sun stands overhead, or if by black magic it is taken from him, he will be deprived of his senses and will soon die.

WULU

A "wulu" is a spiritual being which likes to take possession of a man. Its character is wicked; it is intent upon doing harm to the person in whom it has taken up its abode as well as to other people. Generally it is invisible, but it may become visible like

"spirit." Here again the differentiation between a man and his "wulu" is not very clear. Sometimes it is said, "The man *has* a wulu," but just as often, "A man *is* a wulu," and this may apply to a dead person as well as to a living one.

When a man falls into a heavy leaden sleep, so that it is almost impossible to wake him, he is suspected of having become the abode of a wulu. If he repeatedly dreams of far-distant places, he knows that his wulu leaves him at night, and passes his time in wandering about the country. The man cannot be aroused from his sleep until the wulu returns to his body. It may happen that the wulu fails to find his way back, or does not want to return, in which case a wulu hunter has to be called. Only after he has seized the wulu, and put him back into the man will the latter return to life again. According to this view the connection between a man and his wulu is so close that the man cannot exist without his wulu and it has almost become his soul. Possession by a wulu is always considered a terrifying and dangerous condition.

A man possessed with a wulu is feared and detested as a witch or owner of a wicked spirit. Any calamity in a village may be ascribed to him. He is supposed to "drink" men at night, that is, to suck human blood—especially that of little children—and he frequently causes sickness. When a man wants to free himself of his wulu, or when in a town the number of wulus or other dangerous spirits becomes excessive, a witch doctor or a party of spirit hunters is called in, generally upon invitation of the chief, to cleanse the community.

BURIAL OF THE DEAD

The burial of a person who has been a member of the Poro or Sande or any other secret society is always presided over by the head of that order. The dead body is washed, rubbed with chalk, dressed, and laid on a bier in the meeting-house. Here it is watched by friends and relatives. A fire is maintained at night and the people keep up mourning, singing and drumming.

This is done to keep away evil spirits or other harmful agencies that might attack the defenseless dead. While the grave is being dug a friend or a relative touches the dead body with a switch and addresses the deceased. In the case of a certain woman, her friend at her burial addressed her thus:

"You and I were friends since our childhood. We both came from Zugulota and each married a man of this town. My mother gave you once upon a time a medicine which strengthens the strong and weakens the weak. You and I have worked here with this medicine. Now you are dead, and I bring your share of the medicine. The remainder we keep to do things with ourselves. You are now going away from us. When you are going, do not look behind, look straight forward. Be kind to us. Let past things be past. Be favorable to us and tell others to be likewise. Send them all our greetings and be kind."

When the body has been carried to the grave it may again be addressed by other persons who care to do so, the aim being to assure the deceased that

no one has caused his death, to ask for his kindly protection, and to persuade him never to return to his home. The switch with which he has been touched is placed into his left arm, the body is enveloped in cloths and mats, each of which is "killed," or torn a little.

The body is now carefully laid in the grave by a leading person of the Poro or Sande Society, if the deceased has been a member. The deceased is provided with what he needs for his future state; sometimes a bag of cooked rice, or a kola nut or some other food is put into his hand; a calabash with water is placed beside him, some money is put into his mouth, and certain charms are laid on his body. If the deceased is a woman, some of her ornaments such as beads or bracelets are given her.

The covering over of the grave with earth is not done with any tools or with the hands, but with the arms and elbows, by raking the earth into the grave and over it. Some days later a sacrifice consisting of cooked chicken and rice is placed on the grave, part of which is eaten by the family. If the deceased was a person of importance this meal on his grave may be repeated every three or four years in his honor. A funeral "custom" of firing with guns, drumming, dancing is also held, and a liberal gift of food and drink is given in the case of wealthy families who can afford it.

In the case of an old man who has been much respected in the community, his tools and other utensils of daily use are carefully kept as sacred, the belief being that by his constant touch these things

have become part of his personality and some of his power has been conferred on them. This accounts for the unwillingness of clan members to part with any family utensils or tools.

The graveyard is either in the middle of the village or in the immediate neighborhood, sometimes beneath tall trees and often divided into family plots. A person who has died a violent death is buried in the bush. The grave is sometimes covered with a flat mound, but generally has no elevation. It is rectangular or oval in form—as are the huts in the town—and is enclosed by rocks, or by a wooden frame or empty gin bottles. The surface is usually covered over with flat stones. A hut or shed is generally erected over the grave of a chief, though he is sometimes buried within his own hut.

SACRIFICES

A sacrifice is called in Kpelle *sala,* a term which with slight changes is found in a large number of neighboring languages, being probably derived from the Arabic word *sadaqa.* This indicates early and wide spread Moslem influence, which is corroborated by the fact that Moslem teachers, or persons who pretend to be such, are officiating to a large extent in the practice of pagan religion, especially in the offering of sacrifices. It does not mean, however, that the natives did not make offerings before the advent of the Moslems, for undoubtedly the custom has prevailed for a long period.

For the purpose of a *sala* or sacrifice any kind of

food, cotton, chalk, beads, clothes, bones of men and animals and other parts of human and animal bodies may be used. Receivers of sacrifices are primarily the dead, and also spirits, demons, water-people, hill people, totem animals and plants, other sacred animals and God. The sacrifice is deposited where one of these beings has revealed itself, or where it is usually worshiped. On a road you will notice a bundle of rice ears fastened under a root, and close by a small calabash containing rice; this is a sacrifice for the "water-people" offered by one who "has the water-people behind him." On a forest path palm oil is poured upon the ground, and a bowl full of oil is put beside it, near a big cotton tree which is the dwelling-place of the "old people" of the neighboring villages. Near a river-crossing a little heap of rice-flour and a bit of cotton are neatly spread on two large leaves as an offering to the water-people. On a high river bank rice and kola nuts are laid down on a clean spot to be enjoyed by the sacred fishes living in the river.

In some cases it is difficult to determine to whom the offerings are directed. Little enclosures on the outside of hut walls or miniature huts contain large mussel-shells, bones and skulls of cattle or game. In front of huts or upon graves carved poles about a yard long are stuck into the ground. Bottles filled with water or some other liquid are buried in the ground up to the neck; the same thing is done with mortars used for pounding rice. All these are called *sala*.

PUBLIC "SALA"

While offerings are made by private persons or single families, there are others that serve public purposes which are provided by the chief as the representative of the community. Some of them seem to be rather charms than sacrifices, but they are all called *sala* by the natives. When the village blacksmith's shop has been constructed, a chicken is killed, its blood sprinkled on the floor of the shop, and some bones are hung inside the roof. In some villages pieces of rock are found which represent a *sala*. They are suspended on two poles or a high gallows across the entrance to the village. Sometimes they are placed partly in the ground or set in mortar. These stones give to the village and its inhabitants strength and endurance; they secure prosperity and health. In the town of Vonjama, on the border of French Guinea, there stands a tree with a large rock suspended from it by a windlass, the native ropes of which are renewed when the former ones wear out. "This town shall be like a rock," so the natives say, in explaining why the rock is hung there. Rice mortars and pestles, pots of food and iron bars used for money, are placed close by; it is a *sala*.

Other forms of town *sala* are a pot containing "medicine" dug into the ground in the middle of the village, or a little hut about three feet square and three or four feet high erected to contain the *sala* for the well-being of the community. When a new village is to be laid out, the diviner or "sand

cutter" is asked to state whether the chosen site is favorable and what offerings are to be made for the prosperity of the new settlement.

In many villages a bull, goat or chicken serves as a public *sala*. The animal or bird is selected by the king, the village chief and the elders. It is not killed, but is set free in the village and its presence in the community is a security for good luck. The natives say: "It is a *sala* for the king, that he may live long in our town, and that strangers may come here with fine things for trading." The young of the animal may be sold or otherwise disposed of. When the *sala* animal is old the king may kill it, but he must at the same time replace it with another animal, "so that when you come into the town you might think the goat to be immortal, for whenever you come you will meet the black goat."

"The "*sala* woman," or "*sala* girl," who is found at the court of each king is most important. She must be a free girl of the tribe, generally between twelve and sixteen years of age when entering upon her office. In the presence of the village people she is dedicated in a prayer by an old man to the "sky-god"—*gala*—and God is asked to be, for the sake of this woman, gracious to the king and his people.

These public *sala* are sometimes called "redeeming *sala*," that is, they redeem the country from any evil influence or imminent danger. In some parts of the country the animals must be black, which is the favorite color of wicked spirits and demons. The underlying idea seems to be that these beings are irresistibly attracted to the black animal and thus

prevented from doing harm to the community. White is, on the other hand, the color favorable to man. A benevolent or friendly disposition towards fellowmen and dead people is expressed by giving them some white object. In native parlance a "white palaver" is a matter which has been settled to the satisfaction of all concerned.

CHARMS AND MAGIC

A charm is an object containing unusual power. There are also certain actions not connected with any particular object which we would call magical, such as waving a hand to chase away an army, but these are not called charms by the natives.

The power inherent in a charm cannot be applied without danger by any one except its lawful owner, as it obeys his will only. A stolen charm may therefore operate to the disadvantage of its new owner and actually do him harm. A new charm will only conform itself to the will of its owner if it has been duly purchased and paid for.

Whenever one person's charm meets that of another, particularly that of a stranger, the two are inclined to fight each other, the stronger one attempting to annihilate the weaker. When a charm no longer does what it is expected to do, that is, if it does not protect against a falling tree, a harmful animal, a poison or a dangerous illness, it has been made inefficient by the stronger magic of an adversary, or by the wickedness of a demon. The underlying view is that the greater part of all bad luck is

caused by men, either living or dead, or by agencies over which they have power; it can therefore be overcome by men, the question always being how to become stronger than one's known or unknown enemy by means of some magical power.

The valuable qualities of an object or being can best be acquired by physical touch or by incorporation. Warriors become brave by eating parts of the body of an enemy, by drinking his blood—"that makes them good fighters"—or by using his skull as a drinking bowl. The flesh of the royal antelope gives swiftness in running, the flesh as well as the teeth and claws of a leopard give strength and skill in jumping or attacking an enemy. Powdered snail-shell is the best medicine for healing a wound, "because a snail is an animal which in walking never looks back, and never turns on its road so that it is a progressive animal." The head and skin of a leopard are kept by a chief in his hut, not as a symbol of his power, but as bearing the strength of this animal.

SPECIFIC USES OF CHARMS

If a hunter has been unsuccessful he has his hands and eyes "washed" by a witchdoctor; the warrior's bows and arrows, spears and bullets, are not only poisoned but are also strengthened by charms.

When the young men in the village are going to stamp the clay for building a hut, they dress in the grass cloth of the Pora bush and are thus in living touch with the Poro charm inherent in the dress. The effect is that the work is done more easily and

quickly. Natives in walking to the coast will sometimes secure a charm to be placed upon their legs to prevent them from becoming tired.

The art of the blacksmith, the preparation of arrow poison, the carving of boards for games, and in a wider sense all technical crafts are achievements taught in the Poro school and by the help of the Poro charm, the power being transferred from the charm to the man and his work.

Just as inspiring or deprecating words influence men and animals, so will they also affect objects and undertakings. Before a war arrows and spears are addressed and asked not to miss their aim. In burning down the bush, the fire is encouraged by words and movements of the arm, "Go on, fire, burn well." Before a king sends his warriors on a campaign, he performs in their presence the war dance, and thereby imparts to them the powers inherent in his person and his kingly charm.

Another group of charms are those intended to ward off evil agencies. Houses are often seen encircled by a vine or a rope; sometimes whole villages are thus protected against any kind of bad luck, particularly against thieves and fire. Between a village and a graveyard a tiny fence a few inches high may be sometimes noticed; it prevents the dead people from entering the village.

Before giving birth to a child a woman is sometimes laid for hours or days in the stocks, generally made of a banana stem, to prevent bad spirits or other agencies from entering her body and causing harm. On one occasion a man and a woman were

discovered in banana stocks. On inquiry the reply was given that they were brother and sister and that the day before their sister had died. In order that the dead woman's spirit might not return to earth to trouble them and perhaps even take their lives, they had placed themselves in the stocks. (Cited by T. I. Alldridge, "A Transformed Colony"). The original purpose of wearing armlets and necklaces was in many cases to debar harmful agencies from entering the body.

EVIL CHARMS

While all these charms are used exclusively for lawful purposes in order to do good or avert evil, there are others whose only purpose is to do harm. They are few in number, and only a few people know them, but they are dangerous to handle and in most cases their use by private people is strictly forbidden by the authorities. Such an evil charm is often not applied to the individual himself, but to something belonging essentially to him, such as his hair, nails, spittle, shadow, or the sand of his footsteps. Anything done to these things—tying them, cutting them, digging them into the ground, or touching them with the charm—is automatically conferred upon the person who was their original owner. Therefore great care is taken to keep these personal objects from getting into the possession of other people. The spittle is always covered with sand, and as far as possible spitting is avoided altogether. Hair and nails are burnt and excrement thrown into run-

ning water. This latter custom, of course, gives rise to a difficult problem in securing a sanitary water supply.

The supposed magical quality of a charm is often strengthened by very rational means. Some poison hidden under a finger-nail is conveyed into a drinking bowl or plate of food belonging to the man against whom a charm has been set in action. Poison will also act at a distance. A man waves his hand, under a finger-nail of which poison has been put, in the direction of an absent enemy or of any object belonging to him, and asks the poison to perform the desired action, that is, to kill the man.

A man should not talk while eating and if possible should not open his mouth in chewing, at least not in the presence of a stranger, for a charm belonging to the latter might enter his mouth and pass into his body with the food.

"JU-JUS"

The manufacture of a charm is not necessarily the business of a witchdoctor, but may be practiced by any one provided he possesses the materials whose valuable qualities are generally recognized. Foremost among these are various parts of human or animal bodies: flesh, blood, fat, kidneys, hair, skin, sweat, spittle, leopards' claws and teeth, and also plants, stones, hard wood, vines and ropes. They are sometimes ground into powder and put into a little bag, which their possessor wears on his body

or keeps in his hut, and is thereby safely guarded against any common accident.

This faith in *ju-jus* is typical of the African. If he practices any ordinary vocation or craft, or is a charmer, diviner, leader of a secret society, or a chief, he is helped by these charms to do almost anything he desires. In order to preserve the strength of a charm or to secure its goodwill it has to be "fed." In the case of public charms, these feedings take place when a new moon appears, and are effected by rubbing blood and food upon them. Private individuals "feed" their charm when they are going to use it for divining. They sometimes throw two halves of a kola nut on the ground and the relative positions which they assume, whether the hollow side turns up or down, declares the wish of the oracle.

The belief in charms is so great that ordinary individuals are sometimes forbidden to make them. If they do so they run the risk of punishment if detected, and a person who is known to deal in charms, especially in those that are evil, may be severely dealt with. This applies only to "black magic" and not to helpful charms.

"THE MEDICINE MAN"

The man who specializes in the making of charms is the "medicine man" or "witchdoctor," whose trade is taught in the Poro school, but only to those pupils who in later years intend to practice the art.

The making of such charms is a technique comparable to that of a pharmaceutist. A special group of medicine men practice the expulsion of sickness from a man's body. They form societies and travel from village to village to treat the sick.

Sickness is supposed to manifest itself by aching or griping in any part of the body. The part is scratched with a knife by the medicine man, softly rubbed with his hands and the sickness sucked out by his mouth. It appears in the shape of a stone, a piece of wood or leather, which the doctor triumphantly takes out of his mouth. If a person has been bitten by a snake he sucks "the venomed teeth" out of the wound. These objects extracted from a person's body are designated "the sickness" and are considered personal beings. Therefore the doctor must not call the name of his charm in the presence of his patient, for "the sickness" would hear the name and gain an influence over the charm.

The Moslems enjoy great fame for the preparation and sale of charms. In ordinary parlance these men are designated as "moli," (also written "murray" or "mori") men. Most of them are Vais or northern Mandingos, who as traders or practitioners in religion travel through the country and live at the courts of chiefs and kings, generally respected as men of wide knowledge and experience. They are great doctors and manufacturers of amulets. They know the art of divining, or sandcutting, and their counsel is sought in many important religious proceedings, especially in the offering of public sacrifices by the king.

THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE

With this background of belief in the living powers of everything, both animate and inanimate, one can readily understand the native's method for the treatment of disease. To his mind illness (and sometimes death) is caused by an evil spirit or power taking possession of a man; the simple thing to do is to call in some one who has the power to drive it away. This task falls to the witchdoctor, who is part priest and part physician in every native village. He is also spoken of colloquially as the "country doctor," or the "medicine man," and undoubtedly possesses some simple knowledge of the medicinal value of certain plants and home remedies as well as of the action of certain poisons.

The native has great faith in his "country doctor," and will consult him in preference to a mission doctor or a European physician. Frequently, when the country doctor's "medicine" fails to work and the patient is about to die, he will be brought to the mission hospital by his relatives or friends. If he dies, the blame is generally laid upon the European doctor; if he gets well the cure is ascribed to the treatment of the country doctor.

A case is cited of a woman who was brought in great agony to a mission hospital. It was discovered that she was suffering from a tumor, and the country doctor had cut her open with a case-knife, placed a snail inside of her and sewed up the wound with black thread. Needless to say, within a few days she was in a serious condition, and suffering from

infection. In this extremity the services of the mission doctor were sought. Before treatment, however, he called in the witchdoctor as a consultant, and together they opened up the wound. After the necessary operation and sterilizing had been performed, the physician started to sew up the wound again. The witchdoctor would not agree to this, however, until the snail was put back inside. As an opening for drainage had to be left, the snail-shell was sterilized and replaced inside, near the opening, from which it was discharged within a few days. Strange to say the woman recovered. Such cases of native practice by "country doctors" are daily brought to the knowledge of physicians both at mission hospitals and other places.

CHAPTER IX

ELEMENTS OF EDUCATION IN NATIVE LIFE

EDUCATION IN THE HOME

The education of children is marked by its mildness. In general the young people are left to themselves. Feelings of affection towards children are only displayed by parents while children are very young. During this period it is not a rare thing to see a father carrying his child in his arms and hugging it. But it is against the feeling of natives to show affection towards older children, except perhaps after a long separation.

Boys and girls may be seen playing together up to the age of four or five years. After this, a gradual separation begins, owing to the duty assigned to girls of helping their mothers in the housework. They are taught to carry water, wood, and farm produce, and to do whatever their mother or elder sisters ask of them. The boys are for a longer time allowed to have their own way. It is the boys, therefore, who are more familiar with children's games. Most of these are imitations of the occupations of grown people. The most popular playthings of boys are bows and arrows. They soon acquire remarkable cleverness in using them and in shooting birds

and small game, mainly rats and squirrels. They also accompany their parents to the farm, where a little hoe or a bush-knife is given to them; thus, half in play, they get accustomed to serious work. In their play they build small huts; manufacture tools; make a farm; play at engagement and marriage; arrange drum-festivals, dances and singing-parties; talk palavers; learn the various games played on boards; thus in a playful way they reproduce the life of their elders in its various phases. There is always a certain seriousness in everything they do; only occasionally will really boyish pranks be noticed.

By their instinct of imitation the children unconsciously educate themselves more than they are educated by their parents. The transition from play to work is almost imperceptible; to-day the boy plaits for himself a kinjah out of palm leaves, into which his father puts a little load; he does not feel its heaviness, but is proud of being allowed to accompany his father on a journey and see strange things. Half a year later his kinjah is as big as his father's; his play has become real work. He is not taught by his father how to plait a basket or to make a bow, but without any instruction he has learnt by watching what his father does. Exhortations and punishments are rare; the children are permitted to grow spontaneously into the life of a full-grown person. The result is certainly not less satisfactory than that of our Western methods. Boys become economically independent at a relatively early age, but nevertheless, the authority of the old people is for

them almost absolute. Nobody would ever think of disobeying the word of a leading man of the clan; whenever a man becomes entangled in a public affair, such as involves his appearance before a law-court or undergoing an ordeal, his parents have to be consulted first and they will try to settle the matter privately. If they do not succeed, they will assist their child at the meeting of the court and assume the responsibilities arising from their son's actions.

THE PORO SOCIETY

Mention has already been made in a previous chapter of the importance of secret societies in native life in West Africa. The institutions found in Sierra Leone and Liberia, for example, are very much alike.

The most influential among them is known generally as the Poro Society, or "Devil Bush." It exists among most of the tribes between Portuguese Guinea and the Western Ivory Coast and perhaps beyond this region. The name "Poro" or "Polo" is used by most of the Kpelle groups. The Vai use the term "beli" or "beri" or "beri-polo," the Kru "kedibo," and the Kissi "komo." Among the tribes north and northwest of the Susu it is called "simo." There are no doubt other local names in use.

The institution is of considerable antiquity. Dapper in his description of West Africa in 1670 gives an account of it among the Vais and neighboring tribes. He writes:

"They have another custom which they call 'beli-

polo,' and say that it means a death and regeneration and an incorporation of the individual into the community of spirits or souls. They tell strange things about it, namely, that they are killed and roasted and completely changed, that they die to their old life and receive a new existence. Those who have received the Poro marks esteem themselves as being wise and sensible and when they have become mature people they are allowed to appear at any meetings or discussions concerning the welfare of the country, and whenever a person is sentenced to death they are entitled to give their opinion. But those who are not marked are called non-initiated, which means unclean, ignorant, unholy, senseless, and they are forbidden to speak in any meeting and are not permitted to assist at any of the councils."

The institution is organized in much the same manner to-day as that described by Dapper in his time. There are separate societies for men and women; that for men is known as "Poro" and that for women as "Sande." In Sierra Leone the term used is "Bundu" and in Liberia outsiders colloquially speak of "Gre-gre." The correct Liberian terms, however, are "Poro" for men and "Sande" for women.

Boys are initiated into the Poro and become members of the community by passing through certain rites and receiving an education in a school established by the society. Colloquially it may be termed the initiation school. While they are in the school they are called "Children of the Poro." The grown-up members are termed "Poro Men." There are

also different names for boys as they pass through the various stages of instruction. Non-members are known as laymen, senseless or foolish people. Being non-initiated they are never full members of the tribe and cannot hold public office.

THE GRAND MASTER

The head of the order is the leader or Grand Master. He is assisted by a group of men who form the faculty and give instruction to the pupils. These leaders are known as "Zo-people," which is a term used to designate a religious leader of any kind or a man who belongs to a religious order. The zo-people accompany the Grand Master whenever he appears in public and encircle him as he must not be seen by the uninitiated. Upon his appearance in a village, women, children and strangers are obliged to go into their houses and shut the door. If they do see him they are supposed to fall dangerously ill. A woman who once peeped at him through a half-closed door is said to have become instantly blind. Even dogs must not be seen on the streets when the Grand Master comes as they are supposed to be unclean.

The Grand Master goes by the name of "Namu" or "Polo-Namu," and is regarded as a superhuman being. He never dies; that is to say his death is kept secret and the election of his successor is effected within the narrow circle of the older members. He is able to kill people and restore them to life again. This refers to the symbolical slaying of the pupils in

the secrecy of the Bush-school and their later admission into the community of men. This is viewed by the natives as a dying and a resurrection, or more exactly, it might be described as being swallowed by the Grand Master and regenerated. In the general opinion of women and children the "namu" is believed actually to be able to bring dead people to life again.

When the Grand Master appears on public occasions he wears a state dress consisting of wide knee-breeches, a narrow jacket with short sleeves, and a headdress in the form of a cylindrical hat of metal plates ornamented with the skull of the hornbill and trimmed with cowrie shells, and white otter or monkey skin. On his forehead is a white bandage, round his neck a collar of skin ornamented with cowries, and hanging from the throat a medicine bag and other charms. In his hand he generally carries a horsetail or cowtail, sometimes hung with bells. This is the costume worn among the Mende and by some tribes of the Kpelle.

THE PORO SCHOOL

One Grand Master may conduct several schools in different districts at the same time. In such cases he will visit the schools alternately and leave the larger part of the instruction to his assistants. His journeys from one place to another are kept secret, and the pupils hardly know of his absence. Thus a belief is fostered that the Grand Master is able to be

in several places at the same time, and that he does not walk but flies.

While the school is being held, public peace must be maintained throughout the country. No wars or big palavers were formerly allowed to be carried on. At this time the Grand Master or "namu" exercises an authority which supersedes that of the paramount chief. The natives have a saying: "When the namu appears the king stands in the corner." Everybody is supposed to obey his orders. The chief is bound to keep the roads and bridges in repair and arrange for communication between the capital town and the school. The roads leading to the bush school are closed. This is indicated by hanging up bundles of leaves which forbid passage to all except members. If strangers wish to pass that way they must secure the services of a guide provided by the Grand Master, who precedes the traveler and blows on a flute to warn members away. Women who walk through the bush at this season have constantly to call out "A woman! A woman!" lest any one belonging to the bush school should meet them.

The time during which the boys are confined in the bush school varies from several months to eight or ten years. Among the Kpelle it lasts from four to six years, but Winterbottom states that with the Temne the school lasted ten years. Among the Golas it is generally four years. In some Kru tribes the boys attend the bush school for several years at intervals lasting from some weeks to several months each time. There is a general tendency now to shorten the time. Sons of chiefs and other wealthy

people occasionally attend only the final ceremonies during the last few months.

The locality selected for the school is generally near the chief town of the section, or some other long-established town. The older members of the Poro are commanded to clear a place in the bush. Here they build quadrangular huts for the boys, a palaver house, and special houses for the Grand Master and his assistants, all grouped around an open space used for dancing and other ceremonies. The side towards the town is enclosed by a high fence behind which a small meeting-house is built for the Grand Master, the paramount chief and his counselors. Roads are then cut from the Poro bush to the creek, to a grove of oil palms, to the farms where the boys are to work—these have already been prepared by the men—and to the main road. All these paths are prohibited to non-members.

THE INITIATION CEREMONIES

The boys enter the school at an age between seven and fifteen years, seldom later. The Grand Master with his assistants will roam about in the villages and their neighborhood and whenever they find a boy of suitable age they will drag him along. Even strangers and Mohammedans when found on the road are sometimes seized and brought into the bush. As a rule, however, the boy's father will accompany him to the door of the bush which opens to admit him into his new existence.

At the entrance the candidate is received by an

assistant; the boy gives him a small present, and answers several questions. The two then enter into a sham fight in which the assistant turns out victor and finally drags the boy into the settlement. He is welcomed by shouting, singing, and drumming, and brought before the Grand Master. The purpose of the school is to change boys into men, and to give them such an education and instruction as will be in keeping with the tribal lore. The pupils are to become full-fledged members of the tribe and are therefore taught what such a member ought to know. They are given instruction in the history and achievements of the tribe, and in the economic, social, sexual, intellectual and religious spheres of life. During the time the boys are in the school they are said to be "fighting the battle of the country devil."

The boy is circumcized if this has not been done before, after which he is tattooed or cut with the marks of the Society. This is said to be the "killing of the Poro," the inference being that the candidate has been killed by the Poro and the Grand Master has eaten him up. The pupils are now supposed to have entered into the body of the Grand Master, who will bear them anew after they are dismissed from the school. The boy has ceased to exist for the world outside the bush.

Tribal marks vary of course with each group. Some consist of a long line running down the back with fishbone-like cuttings on each side. In other tribes two tattooed lines are made around the middle of the body, one inclining upwards in front towards the breast and the other coming to a point near the

pit of the stomach. Native medicine is dropped into the wound in order to keep it open and to secure a good cicatrization. It is sometimes months before the wounds heal and some of the boys die from the operation on account of unskilled treatment or infection. Deaths from other causes are not infrequent during the ceremonies in the bush. This should cause no surprise considering the hardships to which the pupils are exposed.

LIFE IN THE PORO SCHOOL

Various ceremonies are conducted during the period of initiation, all tending to fill the pupils with awe and to impress upon them the importance of the new existence upon which they are entering. They are required to keep absolute silence as to proceedings which take place in the Poro. It is seldom that any native will reveal the secrets of the initiation period even in later years when he has become a member of a Christian community.

Each pupil receives a new name which is to be used henceforth when addressing him; it is considered an insult to call him by the old name which he used as a boy. In some tribes a new language which may only be used within the secret society is learned. The former existence is obliterated. This goes so far that obligations such as pecuniary claims incurred "in the time of ignorance," quarrels and even crimes no longer exist after a boy enters the bush; he has in the full sense become a new man.

The boys grow part of their food on their own

farms but are also supported by their parents. The mothers or sisters bring meals to a fixed place outside the bush, whence the boys or one of the masters carry it to the hut. From time to time the "namu" with his people go into the village and collect food for his "children" or they make raids at night to seize anything they require from neighboring houses and farms.

The dress worn by the boy is made of grass or raphia cloth, tied like a girdle around the loins and hanging in long fringes down to the knee. The upper part of the body is uncovered. During certain periods they go completely naked. They sleep on mats in their huts but frequently they are not allowed any covering; sometimes they are compelled to lie on the bare ground in the cold bush. All this is done to inure them to physical hardships. In dancing some wear a costume similar to the state dress of the Grand Master. There are certain physical tests which the boys are required to undergo in order to show their manhood and immunity from pain; if a boy plays the coward he is thrashed by the elders or otherwise severely punished.

INSTRUCTION GIVEN

For the purpose of instruction the pupils are divided into three classes, the messengers or servants, the medicine men and religious officers, and the king's class. The latter is reserved for those who in later life will have a share in the government of the country. This division into classes may be ef-

fected immediately upon entrance to the bush or during the first months following. Within the classes there may be different degrees according to the accomplishments of each pupil.

The technical instruction covers everything a man is expected to do, and includes plaiting mats, weaving, and making baskets, fishing-nets, fish traps; thatching a house; the blacksmith's trade; hunting and fishing; and carving drums, mortars, canoes and gameboards. Games are taught, songs and stories recited, and riddles propounded which have to be solved. An important part of the instruction is drumming and dancing, a high degree of skill in the latter being deemed indispensable. A student whose performances in dancing do not satisfy his superiors may be dismissed as unqualified. The dances no doubt have a religious meaning.

Another essential group of teachings is concerned with sexual questions and the boys are prepared for their most sacred task in after life: the propagation of the community. But the manner in which most of this instruction is given is generally detrimental to the higher moral feelings.

Boys in the king's class are instructed in tribal life and its achievements, in the right of inheritance and of succession, in tribal traditions and their relations to neighboring tribes, in the art of warfare and of governing a community. In the religious or medicine class the teaching is concerned with medicines, charms, sacrifices, ordeals, divining spirits, "water and hill people," totems and God. Everything concerning the Poro and other secret societies is taught,

EVANGELICAL SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

especially the mutual duties of the members of similar societies by means of which they recognize each other, and their secret marks and movements. Sometimes the instruction borders upon trickery and rascality, none of which, of course, is to be practiced upon members of the same society. The pupil has to learn to keep silence and be tactful. He must always remember that he has been initiated and that he is no longer a boy, but a man who "has been taken out of the bush." Constantly they are reminded, "Do not talk like a layman. Talk like an initiated person," "Do not talk beyond your head," that is, thoughtlessly.

One of the main duties is obedience to the old leaders of the Poro bush and respect for adult members of the tribe. Commands of the Grand Master or his officers must be obeyed. No place may be given to fear; the boy must act like a man. The tests designed to harden and teach self-control are sometimes severe. At certain times the boys go without clothing, sleep in the cold bush without covering, and have to plunge into the cold river. They are whipped for carelessness, for making mistakes in recitations, for want of alertness, for disobedience, and frequently for no reason at all, just as part of the discipline.

The boys have to hear all these chastisements cheerfully and without complaint. Running, jumping, climbing, are practiced daily. These exercises keep the pupils in a constant state of excitement which reaches its climax during the hours of dancing. Then, accompanied by drums, flutes, rattles

and trumpets, the boys become almost frantic and jump about like demons. This is regarded as a sure proof that the magical power of the Poro community has entered into the boys.

DISMISSAL FROM THE PORO SCHOOL

When the time for dismissal from the Poro bush has come, the "namu" accompanied by his "zo" and other assistants appears in the village, where he is received by the older Poro members. In solemn procession the guests from the bush move through the streets. The assistant to the Grand Master blows a flute to announce that the children will be reborn the next day. Immediately afterwards the Grand Master reports to the chief which children have died during the period of initiation. The mothers await this moment with painful expectation, as only now do they learn whether their sons are still alive. In some communities the death of a boy is announced by placing a bowl of rice at the door of his parents' hut.

The king publicly gives the Master a present as an acknowledgment of his services in caring for the boys and giving them their instruction. Soon afterwards the boys themselves make their appearance, dressed in grass clothes and led by the officers. They walk in a long row in solemn silence, head and body bent forward; sometimes they crawl on hands and feet. They move past the Grand Master, the king and the leading men of the community, the king giving each one a slap on his back. The boys, after

an exhibition of their ability in dancing and other performances, either return to the bush school or stay in the village meeting-house for four days. Afterwards they are washed, the ceremony being similar to that used in the Sande school for the girls. Later they are all gathered into the meeting-house with their friends, where in a public ceremony they are handed over to their parents with great acclamation.

The boys leave the Poro bush as men. Everything associated with their boyhood days and their former life is scrupulously discarded. They pretend not to know any one in the village, even their own relatives, and do not respond when called by their old names. At the same time they are the heroes of the hour. They strut about wearing the family finery, consisting mostly of silver ornaments; they receive presents from their friends and are invited to feasts by different members of the family. They are expected to perform the full duties of men, serving the community and obeying the elders whenever called upon. The Poro constitutes a life-long comradeship among the boys who have been initiated during the same period, and in a general way bands together all the members of the order. Help asked for in the name of the Poro must not be refused. There is something in the nature of a bond or Masonic fraternity amongst them; colloquially, in parts of West Africa, natives will speak to Europeans about the Poro society as "African Masonry." Among the Kpwessi, members of the Society are frequently spoken of to foreigners as "Kpwessi Masons." It

is possible there may be some connection between the ancient rites of Masonry and some of the practices now existing in the Poro Society.

INFLUENCE OF THE PORO SOCIETY

The influence and significance of the Poro remains still unbroken in many parts of the interior. In the meetings of the older members, presided over by the Grand Master and the king, all important problems of tribal life are discussed and settled. Here is the central administration of tribal affairs. On certain occasions Grand Masters of several districts meet to discuss common problems, so that in a limited way the Poro favors intertribal relations. But on the whole its influence is decreasing, and wanes before the requirements of a new day. Sometimes the older people have difficulties in bringing the boys together for an initiation school, as many of them attend Christian schools or are working for traders on the coast. The duration of the Poro instruction is constantly being shortened, and even during the initiation period concessions are made that would have been regarded as unlawful in earlier days. Boys are allowed to leave the school for months in order to do some work on the coast, or are permitted to enter the school just in time to take part in the final ceremonies which are considered the most important.

The influence of the Poro Society as a means of education and of social discipline should not be under-estimated. There are some things about it which

are repugnant to Western ideas, but it nevertheless provides a common bond which holds the members of the community together. If the institution is to disappear, something else should be substituted for it. Some of the Christian churches in other parts of Africa have realized the importance of some of the essential features of the initiation ceremony and are connecting them with preparation for certain Christian rites, such as baptism or confirmation. Such organizations as the Boy Scouts, and other boys' or girls' clubs with ceremonies for the admission of members would go far to take the place of the Poro School in the budding life of the native boy. Such institutions make a strong appeal to adolescent youth in Liberia as well as in the West.

THE SANDE SOCIETY

The Sande or Bundu or Gre-gre is a secret order for women and girls, corresponding to the Poro order for males. The two, however, must never be in session at the same time in one chief's jurisdiction.

The leading woman of the order has the title of "zo" or "zo-gbe," and is assisted by a number of female attendants. Associated with the management of the Sande are always a number of old and respected men, who are, of course, members of the Poro. The zo-gbe wears on public appearance a mask of black wood with two openings for the eyes, and lips, the latter sometimes marked by red paint. The whole body is covered to the knees in a broad black cotton cloth, from which raphia fiber braided

into rope and dyed black is suspended. About the neck, loins and knees fantastic wreaths of grass, with long fringes are worn. The zo-gbe sometimes wears long narrow trousers and European shoes, for no part of her body must be visible to people who do not belong to the order, or rather, it must not be exposed to the dangerous influences emanating from such persons. Her numerous attendants surround her. One of them carries a mat of woven palm which is used to hide the zo-gbe from observation in case she should want to take off her mask or arrange her dress. Another attendant collects all the particles that fall from the grass cloth, lest they get into the hands of strangers, and be used as an evil charm against the Sande. The zo-gbe is not allowed to speak in public. She carries in her hand a fan of raphia fiber, and by waving it makes her wishes known. She may also make proclamations through one of her attendants. When appearing in public, these attendants sometimes dress in masks and grass cloths, at other times they wear grass cloths only.

The zo-gbe is the bearer of the magical power of the Sande. The chief purpose of this power is to give the fertility necessary in the bearing of children. Therefore childless women, and sometimes men, go to the zo-gbe for charms. This close connection between her office and the propagation and continuance of tribal life explains why everything associated with her body and even with her dress is so carefully protected from any harmful influence. It also explains why a great part of the initiation

ceremonies which the girls undergo in the Sande bush relate to sex matters and the preparation of girls for motherhood.

LIFE IN THE SANDE SCHOOL

As in the case of the Poro for boys, the school of the Sande is set up outside the village. The enclosure is made by the men in much the same way as for the Poro, with the necessary fences, houses and equipment for the protection of the girls. Sometimes the location is changed every year after the harvest, so that each year brings the enclosure nearer to the village.

A Sande school begins soon after the Poro school has been closed, during the dry season. With the Kpelle the school term lasts about three years, but many girls take part in it for only a few months. This is considered sufficient, if the rites of admission and dismissal have been duly performed. The age for entrance is between seven and twelve years, but in exceptional cases married women may be seen among the pupils.

When the preparations for opening the school have been finished, the zo-gbe, by a long weird call in the silence of the early morning, invites the parents to present their daughters for initiation into the order. On entering the bush the girls are rubbed with white clay and a new name is given them, which they bear from that time on exclusively. They receive a new head-dress, and a thick girdle of raphia or grass with a long fiber fringe as a dress. The marks of

the order are tattooed into their body, and the rite of excision is performed upon them, which corresponds to the circumcision rite of the boys.

The aim of the instruction in the Sande school is to introduce the girls into the community life as far as it affects women. They are taught all kinds of housework, farming, harvesting, and what is more important, dancing and singing. The songs, however, deal largely with sex questions, and during their stay in the bush the girls receive instruction in all matters relating to sex relations. During their period of initiation they must never be seen by men. "Although there may be many young girls within the bush with only a few of their elders acting as guardians, they are absolutely safe against the intrusion of any man. No man would under any consideration venture to approach the Sande bush, for the mystic workings of the Sande 'medicine' upon any delinquent are believed to be exceedingly severe. This belief is so firmly rooted in the minds of all men that Sande girls, when under the protection of their 'medicines,' can walk about unattended, knowing that they are perfectly safe from any molestation." (Cited by T. I. Alldridge.)

The girls are not exposed to any hardship or excessive work. They are well fed and cared for, food being supplied by their future husbands, their parents or guardians. They also work a farm of their own, and if a pupil dies, she is buried in the bush. The parents are either not informed of the death before the closing of the school, or an earthen bowl filled with food is broken at their door by a servant

of the Sande. The parents know the meaning of this fateful sign, but they are not allowed to bewail their child or to go through any mourning.

DISMISSAL FROM THE SANDE SCHOOL

Towards the close of the term the girls are sometimes put through a "fattening period," so as to make them attractive to their future husbands. They are eligible for marriage upon their dismissal from the bush. When the school term is nearly finished the zo-gbe gives the king notice and the whole community prepares for the reception of the neophytes. Their families and also their future bridegrooms are ready to meet them, all of whom are expected to bring gifts for the zo women.

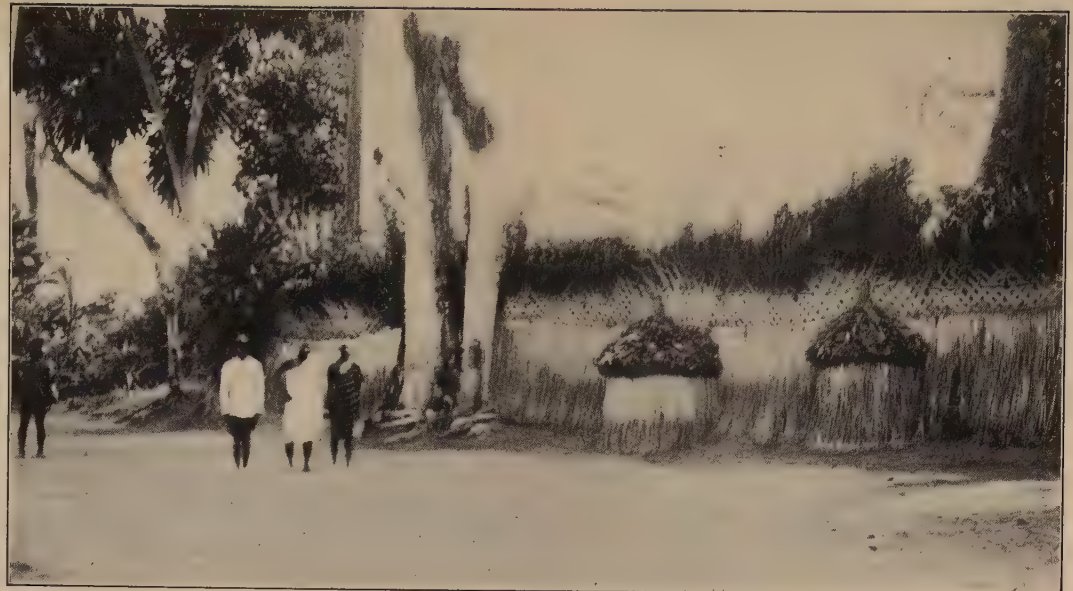
On an afternoon the leading women of the Sande move in a procession through the main streets of the village, wearing their costumes, which cover the whole body. They are accompanied by a number of attendants who constantly move about the leading women and wave their hands, as if driving away evil spirits. Others pick up the particles of grass falling from the dress of the leader. Upon reaching the meeting-house the zo women suddenly throw off their dress and run back into the bush howling and screaming. The attendants, after having taken up the garments, flee also. The men, who are waiting in the meeting-house, jump to their feet, seemingly in high excitement, and begin to run about the village, shouting and firing guns.

The next day the Sande women come back in the

same costume, but decorated with silver ornaments. Four servants carry an enormous plate of food mixed with Sande "medicine," which is presented to the king as an acknowledgment of his having given the Sande bush to the women. The king takes a mouthful of food, and after certain ceremonies, passes it on to the members of the Poro, who unite the charms of the two Societies by eating it.

After this the neophytes led by women come in a long file out of the bush. Their bodies and faces are rubbed with chalk. They are dressed in grass garments and silver ornaments. They are conducted to the meeting-house where they stand in a circle, and the leader announces to the king: "We have brought back your children." After receiving his thanks the women engage in a dance, followed by the girls. When this is finished they sit down and receive presents from the parents and prospective bridegrooms. The final ceremonies consist of dancing, feasting, and further presents. Before the official dismissal, the girls have to be washed, as a sign that they have put away their old life and entered upon a new existence. They are then dressed in their finest clothes, putting on silk handkerchiefs, silver combs, Leopards' teeth, and other family trinkets. The feasting may last for several weeks, at the end of which period the girls are soon married.

The Sande school is the natives' method of training their girls for the duties of womanhood, and marking their entrance into the communal life of the group. It has some good points in connection with it, but if it is to be kept as a permanent insti-



Entrance to Woman's Bush, or Sande School, Near Naama

Women Dancing in Ceremonies at Close of the "Woman's Bush"

Native "Devil" Dancing to the Accompaniment of Orchestra

tution in native life, it needs to be revised and purged of a great many of the repugnant practices relating to sex life.

FOLKLORE

The importance of folklore as an expression of the African's mental life should not be overlooked. Very little has been done to collect and make available for study the vast wealth of stories and fables in which Liberia abounds. It is to be hoped that this important phase in the study of native life will soon be undertaken. Lack of space makes it impossible to give more than two illustrations of the subject in this chapter; the first is taken from a collection of Gola stories; the second is a poem giving a native interpretation of nature.

THE BUSH-DEVIL AND THE SPIDER

A Gola Story

Two Bush-Devils had a big house full of eggs. The Royal Antelope used to go there and steal some of the eggs. She gave the eggs to her children to eat. The children rubbed some of the egg on the Spider's dog. When the dog went to his master, the Spider smelled the egg and licked it off. He then went to the place whence the dog had come and met the Royal Antelope. He asked her: "Where do you get the eggs?" "I have got them from the house of the Bush-Devil." "All right," replied the Spider, "to-morrow morning we two shall go there together." But when day broke, the Spider went

there alone. He found the house locked, but on pronouncing his charm-word, the door opened. He took a lot of eggs and brought them to his children. Next morning he did so again, but while he was there, the Bush-Devil came. The Spider crept under the bed. The Bush-Devil said: "I am smelling a man." The Spider crept into a corner; the Bush-Devil saw him and asked: "What are you doing here?" The Spider did not reply. The Bush-Devil caught him, tied him and carried him into the court to burn him. The Spider said: "If you burn me, all your children will die." Then he wanted to shoot him, but the Spider said: "If you shoot me, all your children will die." Now he was going to break his leg. The Spider said: "If you break my leg, all your children will die." The Bush-Devil replied: "I shall throw you into the river." "All right," replied the Spider. The Bush-Devil tied him in some dry leaves and threw him into the water. The Spider tore the leaves apart, swam to the shore and ran home to his children. When he told them what had happened and how he had been nearly killed, all his children wept.

THE SUN, THE MOON, AND THE STARS

"The Sun comes from inland and walks to the coast,
There he falls into the Sea and remains until daybreak.
The little Ricebirds take the Sun and tie him to a stick;
They tie him to a stick and bring him back inland;

They carry him flying until they reach a big mountain.
He comes out of the mountain and begins to move.
Quickly he leaves the mountain and shines in the sky.

"The Moon loses her way and goes below the sky;
There she remains for a very long time.
Another Moon rises and comes into the sky:
People say, 'Look at the young Moon walking there!'

"The Stars walk together with the sky.
That is why they are not always at the same place.
The constellation of the Elephant is in the sky;
It looks like this:—Four Stars standing together;
The Elephant Hunter is standing behind them;
He walks backwards;
When he is coming up from the coast there will be rain.

"All Stars come from the country side.
You can see the Adz-handle in the sky:—
Four Stars standing together in a long row.
You can also see the Bush-knife and the Rice-bird.
If these three stand together, the rice can grow.
Later on, the Stars disperse.
They come from the Coast and walk inland;
Then the Rice grows.
That is what we know about Stars!"

CHAPTER X

MISSIONS AND EDUCATION

EARLY MISSIONARY ENDEAVOR

LIBERIA's debt to missionary endeavor in the past has been readily acknowledged. It was due to the missionary zeal of Jehudi Ashmun, and others who came out in the early days, that the colonists were provided with valuable leadership and counsel.

The idea of a colony of freed slaves returning to Africa seems to have gripped the imagination of many people in New England, the Middle States and the far South.

The first foreign missionary of the Methodist Church, Melville W. Cox, went out to the new colony in 1832, against the advice of his physician. He lived only three months, and his grave is now shown as the first of the many martyrs who gave themselves to the cause of African redemption.

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States also sent its first foreign missionary to Liberia. Its work was opened at Cape Palmas in 1836, and from the beginning until the present day, the Church has maintained missionary activity amongst the peoples of the coast.

Until recent times missionary work was centered along the coast. The call for service in Liberia has

brought out representatives of almost all the American Churches. This has resulted in a great deal of overlapping, and sometimes in religious rivalries between local congregations. Many of the Protestant organizations are represented in Monrovia and vicinity, as is also the Roman Catholic Church. In recent years the Pentecostal Mission has begun work near Cape Palmas.

While the work was started by the missionary societies which were supported largely by white organizations, the appeal to American Negroes themselves has not been unanswered. The colored Baptists and Methodists have long been at work in Liberia. Lott Carey, one of the heroes of early days, was a minister of the Baptist denomination. On his death, his work was taken up both at home and abroad, and the Lott Carey Baptists Missionary Board was organized for carrying on work in Liberia. The Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention has also been represented. The colored Methodist organizations have maintained missions for a number of years.

In the early days the Roman Catholic Church was unable to do very much work among the settlements along the coast as the first colonists were Protestants. In more recent years they have renewed their activities and now have missions along the Kru Coast and in Monrovia, dealing largely with aboriginal groups.

A number of other American and European churches established missions originally, but the field was overcrowded and they wisely withdrew.

Although denominational differences may have existed in times past, one certainly does not find a spirit of rivalry amongst the missionaries and organizations at present represented on the field. This is largely the result of concentration of effort by the missions on the areas already occupied, and a mutual understanding as to the division of new territory to be occupied in the native areas. In the interior the field has been divided so that there is practically no duplication. This division of territory amongst the Protestant groups has received the tacit consent of the government, which would discourage any attempts at duplication, were such to be manifested.

Parish schools have been carried on by all the missions in times past, secular and religious instruction going hand in hand. Missionary and philanthropic effort have largely supplied the means for the education of the men who are the leaders in Liberia to-day. The government has been in financial straits for a long period, and unable to furnish the necessary funds for the education of the people. Happily this condition is being remedied, and there is not only an earnest desire, but also a visible effort, on the part of the Department of Public Instruction to establish a public school system.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Hand in hand with their parish schools, several of the more important missions have maintained high schools and colleges for the training of leaders. One of these is the College of West Africa, which has

been established for nearly a century as an institution of learning under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Protestant Episcopal Church has for many years maintained Cuttington College, near Cape Palmas, and St. John's School for Boys at Cape Mount. This Church has also supported the Brierley School for native girls at Cape Palmas and the Bromley School for girls on the St. Paul River.

The Lutheran Church has undertaken work among the indigenous tribes. Ascending the St. Paul River a short distance, they settled at Muhlenberg, just beyond White Plains, which at that time was on the border of the civilized settlements, and began work among the native peoples. Their efforts have been largely along agricultural and industrial lines. They have maintained extensive plants on both sides of the St. Paul River, and have recently established a hospital which is rendering excellent service.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church a few years ago erected a substantial building on the outskirts of Monrovia, known as Monrovia College, which will be their secondary school in Liberia. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church maintains a station at Mount Coffee.

The Lott Carey Missionary Board has carried on work at Brewersville, Careysburg and a number of other places for several years. The Board of Foreign Missions of the National Baptist Convention (Colored) has stations at Bendu, Suehn and Fortsville.

These schools, if properly supported and

equipped, would provide all facilities needed for the training of leaders, in addition to Liberia College, which is supported largely by the government. The development of this school is discussed in another place.

In leadership the various Churches have sent some able men as bishops and superintendents of their work in Liberia. In addition to Melville W. Cox and other pioneers, the efforts of Bishop Camphor did much to consolidate and extend the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The labors of Miss Mary Sharp, in carrying on work for native boys and girls in Monrovia, were heroic and extended over a long period of time.

The Protestant Episcopal Church, through such men as Bishop Auer, Bishop Payne and Bishop Ferguson, built up a strong body of communicants, which has become one of the most important in the republic. Among the Lutherans, the labors of Dr. Day and his wife, for many years at Muhlenberg, did much to develop the educational center which exists there to-day.

The work of the Methodist Episcopal Church has been centered in the past around Monrovia and on the St. Paul River, on the Kru Coast, and at Cape Palmas. At Monrovia, and in neighboring settlements, the membership is drawn both from civilized and native Liberians. On the Kru Coast, a creditable piece of work is being carried on among the natives in Sinoe County. The main station is located at Nanakru, with between thirty and forty out-stations scattered up and down the coast and

extending into the interior. At Cape Palmas the Church maintains an excellent institution known as the Cape Palmas Seminary, and also has important churches among the people on the coast of Maryland County, as well as a number of mission stations among the natives of the interior.

The Episcopal church has maintained its work largely around Cape Mount, Cape Palmas, the neighborhood of Monrovia, and at other places along the coast. The Lutheran Church has attempted practically no work along the coast, confining its work largely to Muhlenberg and the natives of the interior. The coast stations are obviously well provided for. There are churches and parish schools in practically all the Liberian settlements in this area.

DIVISION OF TERRITORY

Within recent years the mission groups have begun work among the people of the interior. This was impossible in times past, when intertribal wars and lack of organized authority made it dangerous for strangers to venture into the hinterland. This territory has now been tacitly divided up as follows:

The Protestant Episcopal Church occupies the northwest area and the regions behind Cape Mount. It works among the Vais, Golas, Mandis and Gbandis. Near the Sierra Leone border, the Order of the Holy Cross has established an important boys' school at Masambolahun. Another station has been opened at Pandemai, under the general auspices of the Episcopal Bishop at Monrovia. Nearer the coast some

important work for girls is being carried on at Balomah, and other stations are found in adjacent territory. The Lutherans are working among the Kpelle in the interior behind Muhlenberg. They have an important station at Sonoghie, and another at Zorzor near the Franco-Liberian border among the Buzi. In 1925 the Methodist Episcopal Church opened a station among the Mano people at Ganta, near the French border, not far from Sanoquelleh, the headquarters of the District Commissioner.

In the neighborhood of Cape Palmas we find the Pentecostal Mission, which carries on an extensive piece of work among the villages of the native people inland from the coast, largely in Maryland and upper Sinoe counties. The Roman Catholics have centered their efforts on a number of villages on the Kru Coast. They have their headquarters in Monrovia, where they are developing two important schools, and also contemplate the establishment of a mission at Lower Buchanan, Grand Bassa.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR GROWTH

All this leads up to a consideration of the future of missionary endeavor in Liberia. It is naturally to be expected that the missions will develop the religious side of their work, so that eventually their parishes will become self-supporting. This is now being done at Monrovia and Cape Palmas. As soon as the churches along the coast are able to take care of themselves, the Mission Boards will be free to extend their work into the interior among the native

tribes. A question, however, which is being faced by the Boards at present is the place of parish schools in the educational scheme of the country, and the relation which these schools will bear to the public schools. As is urged in another place, the burden of education should be borne by the government, and supported by the people through public taxation. In some parts of Africa, however, and in some instances in Liberia, as well as in America, church authorities have been loath to give up parish schools, regarding them as an effective means for making converts.

With the growth, however, of public education in America, the idea of parish schools has been largely abandoned by most of the Protestant churches. They incline to leave to the State the function of secular education, the Church endeavoring to give religious instruction through the Sunday School and through regular church activities. This will naturally be the course of development in Liberia. It does not mean, however, that there will be no place for parish schools in missionary endeavor for many years to come. Parish schools should be maintained in those areas as yet unreached by government schools, and also among those groups who cannot avail themselves, for some good reason, of the public school system.

As to higher institutions, there is still a great field for missionary effort. Liberia stands in need of trained leadership, in Church and State, as well as in the economic sphere. These leaders should have a Christian background, and if the Churches

strengthen the institutions already established and develop a few of them into first-class colleges, they will be able to provide professional training to equip young men and women to render valuable service to the republic. Plans are already under way for the rebuilding of the College of West Africa at Monrovia, of Cuttington College at Cape Palmas and of the Boys' School at Muhlenberg.

These schools should offer theological and pastoral training to religious workers—to the clergy, missionaries and Sunday School teachers. They also have an important field in training teachers for the public school system as well as for the mission schools of the future. There is also need for adequately trained young men with the right background and ideals in government service, and for employment in the commercial and industrial fields which are bound to open up as the country develops.

This offers a sphere of unusual promise for the Churches which have opportunity to contribute to the intelligent leadership of the country a body of young men and young women possessing the necessary training and the necessary ideals of service.

CHANGES NEEDED

Strange as it may seem, it is necessary here to urge upon missionaries the importance of learning the language of the native peoples among whom they intend to work. By a chain of circumstances, partly unavoidable, many missionaries have stayed for such a brief period upon the field that they have failed

to acquire a knowledge of the vernacular before returning home.

The need for mastering the vernacular carries with it the necessity for a sympathetic understanding and knowledge of native social organizations upon which to build educational and religious work. No one after reading the portions of this book dealing with native life can fail to appreciate the importance of this.

Although urged in other places, it may be well to emphasize again the necessity of relating school and religious work to village needs. A system of education is decidedly wrong which tends to prepare young people for life on the coast without enabling them to appreciate the opportunities to be found in their native villages.

With the changing needs of to-day, missions now face two alternatives. They must either give up their leadership in educational work, leaving to the government the task of providing education for community needs, and confine their efforts to strictly religious or missionary work; or they must widen their educational program so as to give training for community life. The former would be decidedly the easier plan; the latter affords the greater opportunity for service, until the government or the community is able to undertake larger responsibilities.

In the past, the content of the curriculum has been largely an appeal to the intellect and to the emotions. But the standards of conduct held up were those of Europe and America, unrelated to life in Africa. That important factor in personality which we call

character is not built up by teaching alone. The intellect and the emotions play an important part, but so do the will and the habits. And habits are formed as the individual daily meets situations in his environment. The native lives his daily life in Africa; if therefore his whole attention is bent upon studying situations which have their origin in Europe or America, but which have nothing to do with conditions surrounding him in Africa, he will come to regard education as something unrelated to actual life. This has already come to pass in many parts of Africa, and is met with in America too, for that matter. It frequently happens that when subject matter has been introduced into the curriculum which relates to the pupil's health, home, community or self-support, the inclusion of this material drawn from his daily experiences is bitterly resented. Education has been regarded as something to be had from books,—English books, or French books, or Latin books,—any book, so long as it was a book. This theory prevailed in a period not so far distant in our own educational history in England and America, when we regarded education as largely of disciplinary value; the more useless and difficult a subject was to learn, the more educational value it was supposed to possess.

We know, of course, that there is value in intellectual training and moral or religious teaching; but these must possess not only a personal interest to the individual, they must also concern his social relations in his daily contacts with his neighbors. A sense of social values as well as of personal religion

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

must be developed, and these social values are generally acquired in everyday contact with one's fellows. It was given to General Armstrong, the founder of Hampton Institute in Virginia, to demonstrate forcibly how the daily activities of school, home and community could be so organized as to make them highly educational and at the same time strong factors in moral training. Such activities serve for the training of the intellect and also contribute to character building.

"The education needed is one that touches upon the whole range of life, that aims at the formation of good habits and sound principles, that considers the details of each day: that enjoins in respect to diet, regularity, proper selection, and good cooking; in respect to habits, suitable clothing, exercise, cleanliness of person and quarters, and ventilation; also industry and thrift; and, in respect to all things, intelligent practice and self-restraint."

FOUR ESSENTIALS IN EDUCATION

Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, writing of community needs, defines them as follows:

1. Health and sanitation.
2. An appreciation of and use of the environment, both physical and (social) human.
3. The household and home.
4. Recreation: physical, intellectual and spiritual.

Human needs fall into these four groups, whether one studies them in a primitive African village or in the setting of such a complex city as New York, with its highly organized society.

Applying these principles to Africa, one can see

that the greatest problem which confronts people in Liberia is that of keeping alive, and maintaining reasonable standards of health. The West Coast has long been known for its debilitating fevers, transmitted largely by the mosquito, which affect both native and European. Hookworm and other intestinal parasites keep the people below par in health; many of the natives suffer from malnutrition; a high rate of infant mortality prevails. The wasting effects of venereal disease are beginning to make inroads upon the vitality, as well as the birth rate, of native Liberians. It is only within recent years that people are finding it possible, through the discoveries of modern science, to live satisfactorily in the tropics. The teaching of these principles is one of prime importance to the community.

In the appreciation of his environment man must take into consideration both his physical as well as his social surroundings. An understanding of either of these factors would include vocational training, since he makes his living from occupations connected with the use of his physical environment or through trades and professions he follows while satisfying the wants of his fellows.

The appreciation of his social environment would also include his conduct towards the members of his family or towards his neighbors. The latter might be extended to include the relations of one village to another or of one government to another. The regulation of conduct requires the efforts of both church and state; for man must not only understand these relationships but he must have the proper re-

Monrovia College
Supported by the African Methodist Episcopal Church

Lutheran School for Girls at Muhlenberg

St. John's School for Boys at Cape Mount
Supported by the Episcopal Church.

Mission of the Holy Cross at Masambolahun
(Episcopal)

spect for them. In this task, the church, the school and the home are all potent agencies for inculcating human sympathy, regard for the rights of other people and higher standards of conduct.

The third essential concerns the welfare of the household and home. The family is the highest type of human relationship, and has even been employed to interpret man's relationship to God, whom he is taught to regard as his Heavenly father. In a modern state, the activities of government, of Church and of school, are largely devoted to the protection and the development of the family and the home.

No race can expect to rise higher than its homes. In Africa a large part of educational and missionary work could well center around those efforts which tend to develop a satisfying type of home life, by promoting better concepts of family relationships and of higher standards of living.

The American Government has recognized the importance of the family by organizing and conducting farm and home demonstration work, teaching farmers to produce more from the soil, teaching boys and girls through agricultural clubs to make better use of their environment, and helping women and girls to develop better standards of living through Homemakers' Clubs. This work also has an economic basis, for there can be no satisfying home life where poverty is persistent, and where the family is on the border line of starvation. By teaching families to produce more they can increase their income, and are enabled to purchase more of the comforts of life.

Finally there is the essential of community life which may broadly be termed "recreation." Man cannot live by bread alone—there must be something which satisfies his spiritual needs and social cravings. He seeks recreation to refresh him in the constant toil of life, he craves social companionship, he needs inspiration and spiritual recreation. His physical body must have exercise—games and athletics, his intellectual side calls for books, for pictures, for music, for travel and companionships; his spiritual nature calls for contact with the infinite. The work of the school and the church should be so organized as to bring these essentials within reach of the people in the African village.

A COMMUNITY PROGRAM DESIRABLE

Mission work has suffered from being generally interpreted as mainly preaching. There are certain needs which stand out for the people, and only in a small way is any effort being put forth to meet them. Unfortunately there has been too much separation of religion from life. One worker was afraid that agriculture might interfere with the "religious life" of the mission. This shows a tendency to separate religion from the other factors in life, such as health, industry, homemaking and community relationships. Certainly in primitive Africa religion plays a very important part in the daily life of the native, permeating all his undertakings. Christian missionaries have attempted too often to separate religion from the daily life of the community, setting it up

as something apart from man, as if man can be separated from religion or religion from the whole man. If the Church has needed any justification for undertaking a broader program for the people, it can be found in scripture, for there are certain human needs which have stood out through the ages, and only by ministering to these needs has the Church served its full purpose.

"Then shall the King say unto those on his right hand
'I was an hungered and ye gave me meat,
I was thirsty and ye gave me drink,
I was a stranger and ye took me in;
Naked and ye clothed me;
I was sick and ye visited me,
I was in prison and ye came unto me.'"

Food, clothing, shelter, healing, fellowship—five human needs—by the satisfying of which the Church is judged. There is an actual need in Liberia to-day that the people be taught how to grow a better food supply; that they be encouraged to raise cotton and weave it into cloth to protect their bodies from the elements; that they be taught how to build better houses and to make better homes; that sanitation and medical work be undertaken for the prevention of disease as well as for the healing of the body; that they be shown the best that is in civilization, so that they may acquire some understanding of what is meant by service, by brotherhood, by fellowship with one's neighbors and with the outside world.

Nor should missions overlook the importance of handicrafts and of home industries as factors in character building when they introduce a religion

which, as they promulgate it, is in many ways permeated with Western ideas and removed from native standards of life. It is unfortunate that the young people should be brought together in schools and their activities limited to a consideration of subject matter which is obtained from books rather than from life. Their appetites are whetted for things they see in civilized centers, for shoes, clothing, comforts of life, and artificial amusement. Schools often stimulate their wants without giving them the means of satisfying them through remunerative work. Self-support is one of the strongest factors in character building and schools should train their pupils to be sturdy and self-reliant rather than dependent. This is especially true in Africa, where labor has been so often despised and so long associated with the work of slaves. Skilled trades, handicrafts and agricultural development offer excellent means for the accomplishment of the above purpose.

As to agricultural development, missions should not overlook the fact that heretofore the economic life of the country has been dependent for labor upon polygamy and domestic slavery, with a mild form of child labor, as children at an early age take part in farm work.

In Africa missions are proposing to introduce a new standard of family life and of labor. The substitution of monogamy for polygamy actually means an economic loss to any ambitious young man who thereby condemns himself to undertake the woman's share of productive labor. Missions must be able to show that it is possible for a prosperous com-

munity existence and a satisfying home life to be developed under a new system based upon monogamy, free labor, private ownership of land and intelligent industry. They should be able to demonstrate that a young man and his wife can acquire a piece of land, erect a house, establish a home and rear children according to the accepted principles of the Christian family. All this will be an impossible task, or at best accomplished in a stumbling fashion, unless missions and Government seriously consider, with the help of other agencies, the problems involved in the economic life of the community.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL STATIONS

Turning now to consider some of the problems which confront missions in their organization of their work, it is being recognized that they have tended to expand too rapidly. Their urge to "occupy the field" has compelled them to extend their work or to open up new areas at a rate which has involved a loss in the efficiency of their enterprise. Numbers have been added to their schools and to their church membership with which they are unable to deal. In order to reach out-stations, they have been compelled to weaken effective work at their central stations. This is to be regretted, for in their central stations lies the best hope for the future.

Conditions are changing, and the field is demanding a better prepared worker than has been deemed necessary in the past. The old pioneer days are over, and instead of the "all round missionary,"

who went out largely from the missionary urge to preach or convert, there is needed a variety of people well-trained in religious work, in education, in health and in the vocations, to bring to the community the four essentials which we have been discussing. The old-time devotion is just as necessary to-day, but a different preparation is required.

Instead of scattering over wide areas or establishing schools in isolated places, mission work should, for the present at least, be organized around central stations, and a program planned which will require some years to carry out.

The question of health probably affects missionary endeavor in Liberia more than any other single issue. Not only is the climate trying, but the numerous tasks which fall to the average missionary's lot sap his strength, dissipate his energies, and leave him unfitted for his primary work. The allowances for missionaries are small, their houses are often poorly built, they are isolated in small stations in the interior where medical attention is unavailable, the companionship of friends is rare, wholesome recreation is wanting, and the workers are constantly subjected to the petty annoyances, delays and difficulties which mission work naturally involves. It is little wonder that they develop cases of "nerves." In recent years the work of all the Mission Boards in the Liberian field has been greatly hindered by forced furloughs. Missionaries have had to return home leaving to a few remaining on the field the task of carrying two or three men's work upon their shoulders.

Let no one think from reading these pages that the future mission station is going to require less money. The proper equipment of plant and preparation of workers is going to be much more expensive than it has been in the past, but the product will be better.

In order to realize the greater responsibilities which devolve upon missions it might be well to consider briefly an analysis of the work which is required at a mission station.

ADMINISTRATION OF A CENTRAL STATION

Every mission center requires the supervision of some responsible head, and assisting him there is need for a number of persons specifically trained for their respective spheres. Some one with executive ability must have charge of the general management of the station. As a rule the senior missionary is regarded as the superintendent of the mission and takes charge of religious work besides. This is not always a satisfactory plan, for many missionaries are poor business managers. The drain upon their time made by business details generally interferes with their primary function. The station needs an executive officer. If the religious worker does not possess the necessary qualifications, some one who has had training in executive work should be secured. Since mission work is becoming largely an educational undertaking in which all sides of a pupil's nature are sought to be developed, experience in educational work of an executive nature

would be one of the best preparations. But to have the mission in charge of a person with executive experience does not mean any less emphasis upon the religious nature of the work.

If the religious worker is placed in charge he should have a business manager as his assistant. Some one must attend to the general routine of the mission station, the purchasing of supplies, the management and the discipline of help, and the handling of other matters, besides the keeping of accounts. The religious worker at a station should have his hands freed from these details in order to have the opportunity of doing satisfactory work in his chosen line.

RELIGIOUS WORK

The religious work of the mission consists of the formal religious training of the pupils in the school, the formation of character, and the ministering to the spiritual needs of the people in the community. The number of workers required would be determined by the size of the mission and the extent of the work. The whole field of religious education both in our secular schools and in our mission schools is being further explored. It is coming to be realized that religious instruction should be more related to life. One of the most valuable discoveries made by modern education is the possibility of organizing the various activities of the school for the training of character.

Mr. J. H. Oldham, commenting upon an article by Dr. John Dewey, says:

"There is nothing in the nature of ideas *about* morality, or information *about* honesty or purity or kindness which automatically transmutes such ideas into good character or good conduct. The assumption that moral principles are first learned and afterwards applied in actual life is a mistaken one; it is in the *actual* relations and responses of daily life that moral values are created and character formed. Honor, truth, goodness and unselfishness are only words or counters except in so far as they have been revealed in the lives of others or practiced in our own. The depth of meaning they convey depends on the degree in which they have been experienced. Religious teaching has a real content only when these moral values have become part of a living experience."

In regard to the religious work in the community or parish, a further discussion will be found under the head of Extension.

HEALTH ACTIVITIES

Enough has already been said about the importance of medical work in Africa. The health of the workers, both European and native has to be safeguarded, the health of the school children to be conserved, and the medical work of the community to be carried on through the provision of hospitals, and by out-patient work.

This is apart from the public health teaching and child welfare activities which should be carried on in the community by a special worker. For satisfactory medical work, of course, there is needed a competent physician and staff and a small hospital or infirmary.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

Educational activities in a mission station need at least one professionally trained person to deal with elementary school work. In the lower grades one or more women teachers with training in the primary methods are essential.

Mission Boards are beginning to realize that teaching is a profession and demands people with special training. Africa at best is a difficult educational field, and in Liberia at any rate, there has been a great deal of poor teaching in mission schools due to lack of training on the part of teachers, both American and native. Some method should also be worked out for the training of good native assistants. Courses might be given in the school year or during the vacation period. The subject matter taught in the schools at present and the textbooks used are not adapted to the needs of African pupils. These things have combined to retard education in Liberia.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Vocational work would fall naturally under three heads, agriculture and gardening, handicrafts and trades, home industries for girls and women. Each of these would require within the area of a mission or of a central station one or more instructors to handle the work successfully.

(A). Agriculture is especially important and is a much neglected field at most of the mission sta-

tions. The growing of suitable food crops for the staff and student body is essential. The teaching of elementary agriculture to the pupils needs also to be done by some one who has had special preparation for the subject. The development of a few staple crops suitable to the community is a third important piece of work. An adaptation of the farm demonstration work in the Southern States of America would be applicable to Africa. The hinterland of Liberia is essentially an agricultural country, and is well adapted to the production of staple crops for home consumption as well as others which would be money crops. The organization of this work could be carried on through the activities of the extension agent in agriculture.

(B). Handicrafts and trades are valuable, not only for their educational worth in developing skill and useful habits and in giving an outlet to the constructive nature of the child, but they also have a practical use. The country offers a rich field for the encouragement and development of useful handicrafts. Native instructors should be discovered and trained for the work. Among the handicrafts may be mentioned the making of mats, baskets and bamboo furniture; the weaving of country cloth (this can closely be correlated with the growing of cotton on the farm, and the preparation of the fiber for spinning and weaving); the use of native dyes and of simple design and color in weaving; the tanning and preparation of leather for making useful articles for the home or for sale. Many others might be

mentioned, such as the making of brushes and brooms out of piassava fiber. Native instructors should be discovered and trained for this work.

Almost every mission is in need of a carpenter. It would undoubtedly pay to employ permanently a skilled workman, either European or native. There are mission buildings to be erected and kept in repair, furniture for dormitory, school or church to be made. There are demands for useful articles for the community. There should also be instruction given in elementary manual training to boys of the middle school, teaching them the use of the ordinary carpenter's tools. Finally there is the carpenter's trade to be taught to some of the older boys who may select it as their calling. These should be regularly apprenticed to the carpenter's shop for a period of years, to do steady work during certain hours of the day, being allowed time for school work, religious instruction and recreation during mornings or afternoons.

As to an outlet, the demand for carpenters is growing. Many native villages could support at least one. There is always need for windows and doors for the new houses being built, for simple furniture, and for general building for the chiefs. There is apparently no danger of training too many in this profession for some time to come. Besides the demand in native villages there appears to be need for good carpenters in the cities and towns along the coast.

(C). The importance of homemaking has already been urged. The education of boys will have little

permanent effect upon the country unless girls are also taught higher standards in order to make suitable homes for them.

In place of the crude practices of the Sande-school, through which the primitive community attempts to prepare girls for the responsibilities of marriage, courses in home-making and mother-craft could be substituted. Christian standards of womanhood could be presented to them, eliminating the repugnant features of the songs and dances which they learn during this period of initiation. Such organizations as Homemakers' Clubs and Girl Guides could well replace the institution which the native has employed in the past for this important purpose.

The organization of work for girls and women should be as important a part of the program as that for boys. The laboratory would be the school and home. In most missions the work is better organized and conducted for girls than it is for boys. This is due to the fact that the home is a more circumscribed area. It is simpler to organize the teaching of home industries to girls than to give vocational training to boys. The chief criticism would probably be that in Liberia the standards for homemaking have not been simple enough, nor based upon the needs of the native people. There has been too much artificiality and importation of standards from abroad. In many instances this tends to take the girls away from their home communities instead of encouraging them to become good homemakers in their own villages.

EDUCATION AS AN AID IN SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Africa is on the verge of industrial development. The old civilization is breaking down. The new is advancing. The good and evil to be found in modern industrialism are touching life at many points. It is the function of the school, the Church and the community to see that youth is prepared for the new era upon which it is entering. Since the community created by the old African social order is ill prepared to render this service, the duty must fall in the present generation upon the Church and the school. These institutions, with assistance from the government, where this is possible, should see that youth is provided with training which will enable it to fit into its new environment. This includes more than the narrow and formal type of education offered in the past. The physical, social, spiritual and vocational aspects of the pupil's life should be taken into account. It does not mean that every one would be provided with a college education, but it does mean that some instruction would be offered which will tend to bridge the gap between the old primitive civilization and the new.

Religion should be an efficient and pervasive influence so as to provide necessary motives and inhibitions and inculcate a better way of life. The power of witchcraft and of the medicine man and ju-ju is breaking down. A higher type of religious experience is demanded, and this can well be supplied through the facts and principles of the Christian religion.

CHAPTER XI

AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

EXTENSION WORK

The previous chapter dwelt on the relation of missions to the problem of education. In this one it is proposed to discuss the lines of a wider educational program to be worked out through a development of community service on the part of both missions and government.

We have already discussed the organization of a central school, and the departments which it is necessary to develop if the school is to give that broad training which is demanded by the students who attend. Most of these students will have opportunity to exercise leadership in the future. Having considered the influence of the school upon the pupils, we are now prepared to discuss the influence of the school upon the community, which is the other great field of educational work. This, too, falls under certain heads.

If an institution expects to raise the standard of the people it must have workers who can visit the homes, meet the people in their daily tasks and assist them in their problems. From the standpoint of missionary effort, quiet, house-to-house visiting is a form of religious work which deserves a great

deal of attention. There should spring up around the central station a number of village churches and schools under the general supervision of the mission itself. The schools would be taught by native workers and the religious activities carried on by native pastors. The success of the whole scheme depends upon adequate supervision, following on the proper training of native people for local work. One hears of other fields in Africa where an indigenous church is being built up with small stations grouped around a mission center. If this is to come to pass in Liberia, it means that activities in religion, in education, in health, in homemaking, and in agriculture, must be carried out to these little communities.

Too frequently in Liberia the efficiency of the central station has been weakened through the mission's undertaking outstation work before it possessed the necessary personnel. For the effective supervision of outstations the ideal is that there should be an additional person on the staff assigned to each particular task, who would spend a large part of his or her time in the field guiding the local workers and supervising their efforts.

In considering the personnel necessary for outstation work, the average mission, for lack of funds, will probably find it impossible to secure an individual worker for each of these departments of religion, homemaking, health, agriculture and school supervision. A combination of some of these activities might be effected, but there should be at least one woman who is qualified to visit the homes and

reach the women and girls. She might combine health and homemaking in her activities. Sometimes she might include simple handicrafts and household industries.

As a minimum of personnel, probably three extension workers would be required. The first might be the missionary who would supervise the religious activities of the outstations and keep in touch with the organization and management of local schools. While he would have little time to devote to the actual problems of classroom teaching, he could supervise the general organization of the local schools, and render some assistance to their teachers. A second worker should be the woman trained in health and homemaking. Her sphere would be with women and girls, stressing child welfare, the building of a better home life, and the raising of community standards. The third agent would be a man trained in agriculture, for work among the people of the outlying villages; he would have a very inviting field.

One duty of the agricultural agent would be to undertake extension work with chiefs and heads of households in local communities. There are certain staple crops which need to be developed. Their cultivation should be stimulated and local villages assisted in the marketing of their products. Another activity would be agricultural club work with boys. Through the leadership of the local teacher the boys could be organized into agricultural clubs, centering their efforts upon gardens, poultry, livestock or some money crop. The teacher would be the local

leader of the group, but the work would require supervision by the extension agent.

This field has already been admirably developed in America, as well as in the Philippines and some portions of Africa. In the United States farm demonstration work is now carried on in approximately 3,000 counties, and the membership of boys and girls in club work runs close to the million mark. The work has been extended to include boys and girls in both white and colored communities, and is one of the most popular and successful forms of governmental activity tending to promote a better rural civilization.

JEANES TEACHERS

The development of outstation work calls for a special type of worker. In America this has been met to a marked extent by the Jeanes Teacher. The scheme, which originated some years ago, took its name from Miss Anna T. Jeanes, a little Quaker woman who first financed it. The movement endeavors to bring to out-of-the-way places some of the advantages of better schools, of instruction in health and homemaking and some contacts with civilization such as more advanced centers are able to enjoy. The plan was first worked out in the Southern States, where good women trained not only in methods of school work but also in the principles of health, child welfare, and handicrafts, visited the isolated schools of the county, encouraged teachers, met parents and school patrons and developed a community spirit which was both practical and in-

spiring. Already in Kenya Colony the British Government has established a school for the training of Jeanes teachers for work in that colony. The successful development of such schools will mean a great deal to the whole continent of Africa, for it will provide both the personnel and the machinery for supervising isolated outstations and for improving school work and community standards. The application of this plan to Liberia and other parts of the West Coast awaits only the necessary funds and personnel.

COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

If the work of the central stations as well as that of the extension agents is to be successful in the villages, it means that a type of local school must be developed differing from that which has prevailed in the past. The village school should become the "university of the people." Much that is fine and uplifting in village life for the next generation will come through the village school and the village church. These may or may not be in charge of the same individual, but both institutions are needed.

For personnel one would desire a native pastor or teacher, living with his family in a neat home in the community, close by the church and the school. The daily lives of the family would be an inspiration to the people of the community. Their home, not too fine, would be a model for the people. The school plant might consist of one or two acres of land on which were located the teacher's home and garden

and the school house, with possibly the church close by. The school building would be made of native materials, simple and dignified, it would be kept in a sanitary condition and be a center of community activity. There would be playgrounds at hand for the children and probably two palaver houses, to serve for play during the rainy season, where handicrafts could also be taught. The teacher's garden, poultry yard and orchard would serve as an example to the pupils. The whole life of the school would be centered not only upon mastering the elements of formal school work, but the principles of health, homemaking, religion and community activities would be carried out by pupils and teacher working together. This type of school is often met with in America under the name of Rosenwald School. Its adaptation to Africa is greatly to be desired.

THE CURRICULUM BASED UPON VILLAGE LIFE

One can learn much from primitive institutions in preparing a plan for the development of education.

The fact that there have been no organized schools among the native populations should not be interpreted to mean that there has been no education. On the contrary the child receives one of the most valuable forms of education, that is, education through home activities and a share in communal life. In many ways this is better than what is obtainable in American schools, where life has become so complex that little opportunity is afforded a boy for taking part in the activities of home life, for

assisting his father in his occupation, or for learning civic duties by attending community gatherings and absorbing community ideals.

In America until recent times, the child received a rather formal type of instruction in certain school subjects and finished his school days with little that related him to the life upon which he was about to enter. But there has been a reaction against this in recent years. The tendency now is to organize the school so as to enable pupils to understand and appreciate the complex life of the community around them. For this reason many of the schools in the larger American cities as well as in our rural areas are reshaping their curricula. Opportunities are being provided for children to express their own feelings and ideals and gradually enter upon the activities of adult life around them.

Courses are arranged which give the child an opportunity for personal expression and development, through games, songs, dramatics, handicrafts, homemaking activities, manual arts classes, and civic clubs. These are effective channels for developing in the pupils that understanding and self-reliance which will enable them to appreciate life and take part in community activities after they have finished their school years. Native children have always had an advantage in Africa by being able to obtain firsthand in their normal life many of the opportunities which American cities are endeavoring to secure by spending thousands of dollars annually upon equipment, shops, laboratories and museums.

The ancient Greeks had something of this in mind

when they organized their games, their classes and their instruction around the ideals of "beauty" and of participation in civic duties. No better definition could be given of education than the reply of the old Greek philosopher to the question, "What ought children to learn in school?" when he said, "They ought to learn those things they expect to do when they are grown-up!"

It is of course easier to do this in a primitive society than in a complex one, and for this reason. The modern school demands equipment and many specialists to give instruction which was not needed in early days.

To contrast this natural method of educating children with some of the artificial conditions to be found in the poorer types of mission and government schools in Liberia and other parts of Africa, creates a reaction favorable to the native method which is "learning by doing." In the latter the child takes part in the daily tasks of family and community and grows up as a part of the clan. In the former he is weaned from all local connections and becomes an outcast from his people or regards himself as better than they. He is no longer a member of the clan. The writer recalls the case of a young native man whom he met up-country who had been educated in a school on the coast. He had come back to visit his people and to show them how superior his education had been. He had fared badly with them. In fact he had been driven out. Some of the elders warned him that if he stayed he

might be poisoned by people "who didn't like his civilized ways." The line of cleavage between the old and the new is inevitably great, but the gulf may be bridged by a more practical and sympathetic type of education.

The habit of some of the poorer types of schools to take boys away from their villages, concentrate them in a galvanized iron "tin box" which serves as a dormitory, where they memorize a few passages from some English books, are fed at the expense of the school and spend most of the day in idleness, means that they grow up with an entirely erroneous impression of the meaning of education and a wrong attitude towards life.

An extreme case might be cited of a village school once inspected in Liberia. It was in charge of a native clergyman. He was dressed in heavy European clothing, and the building in which he taught had no equipment. Sunlight and rain poured alternately in through large holes in the roof. On being questioned about the roof, he replied that "somebody ought to fix it for him." Eight unkempt little native boys, with bright eyes shining through the dirt on their faces, and eager to learn, had a few soiled rags hanging around their loins and were seated upon the ground in a dry dusty place very inviting for jiggers. In fact the sores that were evident on some of their toes gave proof that the jiggers had already found a good abiding place. They had a few broken slates on which they were copying some lines from one or two cast-off Ameri-

can primers, that had been "sent out" to help in their education. The lesson that day was about oak leaves, Jack Frost, and apples!

TEXTBOOKS

Mention has been made of the need for suitable textbooks. The prime item of importance is a curriculum based upon the needs of the pupils and of the community. Then one must have teachers qualified to interpret the curriculum to the pupil. As a third item come the textbooks, which should be regarded as mere tools in the hands of the pupils and teachers, enabling them to interpret the curriculum. In Liberia, the printed textbook has been a fetish in the hands of the teacher, and an object of veneration on the part of the pupil. It has been felt all too often that if the material in the text could be memorized, the object of education was achieved.

The more we see that a large part of the curriculum is based upon the pupil's activities in relation to his home and community, the less need will there be of textbooks. But this involves more leadership from the teacher than is ordinarily possible. Doing and making things, visiting and interpreting community activities, will absorb a large part of the pupil's time. This calls for well-trained teachers. There should be some textbooks, however, and these should be based upon community life. In the lower grades the village life would be interpreted; in the upper grades, the life of the nation in which the youth expects to play an important part. This

should be studied in regard to commercial and industrial activities rather than solely as preparation for government service. After all, only a few can expect to hold government office.

Special textbooks should be written based on the pupils' needs and community life; it is futile to continue the wholesale importation of books from Europe or America, written often in a foreign tongue. African culture, the wealth of native lore, the achievements of the native people, the relations of this group to those of the outside world, would all constitute part of the material to be included in these books.

A GOVERNMENT PROGRAM IN EDUCATION

What has been said about the main lines of organization for the station staff of a mission applies equally to an educational center or a secondary school maintained by the Government. The county training school with its various activities affords an excellent opportunity for development based upon the varied needs of the boys and girls who attend. A government school would not of course engage in active sectarian propaganda, but the religious side of the pupil's nature should not be neglected by the teachers and the religious work in the community carried on by the various denominations would supplement the secular work of the school.

In village schools in Liberia the idea of a teacher's home is not new. Already in many localities the native pastor or teacher is a resident of the com-

munity. The government in its plans for its interior schools has already erected a teacher's home at several centers in the interior. The native sees very little difference between a government school and a mission school—in fact the colloquial term for a government school is "government mission." Most of the native teachers are products of mission schools, and religious instruction constitutes a part of their daily program.

The extension work from a county high school should be along the same community lines as that suggested for a mission, with the necessary specialists working out from the school center.

In due course of time, the government can place in each county one or more extension agents to work in the whole county, to supervise schools, or to give instruction to adults as well as to young people, in agriculture, health or homemaking.

In the relation of missions to Government the natural course of development would be that as Government became able to assume responsibility for education and extension work, the missions would retire from the coast and devote more of their efforts to the people of the interior. For some time to come, however, there will be great need for both agencies along the coast as well as in the interior.

In developing its educational program, the Department of Education cannot hope to stand alone. Even if unlimited funds were at its disposal, it would still need the aid of other governmental departments as well as of missionary and philanthropic organizations. This has been true of other parts of

Africa, notably in the British colonies. Service and coöperation might well become the guiding principles of the department—service in ministering to the needs of the people, and coöperation in enlisting the support of all agencies concerned in the welfare of the country. This should also include the business groups engaged in commercial development, for they often show a genuine interest in whatever pertains to the welfare of the people employed by their organizations. Their support should be secured by consultation, and by enlisting their coöperation wherever possible. The aim of all should be the building up of a finer civilization in Africa.

AN ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Since the American Civil War the necessity for immigration from the United States to Liberia has practically ceased. Most of the old Colonization Societies have been disbanded. Three organizations still remain, however, which maintain an interest in Liberia. One of these is the parent organization, the American Colonization Society, another the New York State Colonization Society, and a third the Trustees of Donations, which was subsidiary to the Massachusetts State Colonization Society. These three boards still have small bequests, the income from which has been devoted to educational purposes in Liberia in recent years. Some of the officers in these organizations have had experience in the development of American systems of public education, and have come to the conclusion that the best

use to be made of the funds would be to stimulate the development of a public school system in Liberia in which all agencies would have a share.

Within recent years representatives of some of the Mission Boards have met with the Colonization Societies from time to time to discuss educational needs in Liberia. They have gradually come to see the advantages of mutual endeavor and coöperation, and have lately formed an Advisory Committee on Education, having for its purpose the coördination of educational effort between Mission Boards and other groups. Their purpose is to foster the development of a system of education in which both missions and Government will have a creditable part to play.

In 1925 this Committee sent out to Liberia an adviser to assist the representatives on the field in meeting some of their educational problems and in coördinating their work with that of the public school system. So far the movement has met with the cordial coöperation of all groups, including the Government, and promises to set a precedent in educational work, especially in those countries where a large part of the program is dependent upon missionary effort.

SCHOOL FUNDS

American experience has shown that public education, while a necessary activity in a modern state, is a costly piece of business. It has grown to such proportions that now it can be adequately financed only by the state through public taxation, assisted

by all its subdivisions. The average American commonwealth obtains its funds for the support of education from three sources:—the state, the county and the local district or city. Even then school revenues are generally inadequate, so that there is plenty of room for private and parish schools in addition. These latter are to be found in the fields of both elementary and higher education.

In Africa most of the educational undertakings in the past have been supported by the Church, through its missionary organizations. The continent is deeply indebted to the many fine spirits who have gone out in former days without hope of financial reward, and laid down their lives in answer to an appeal which came from a suffering portion of the world. The debt which the children of Africa owe to these pioneers can never be repaid except through steadfast adherence to the principles of service which dominated them.

In Liberia the early schools were founded by missionaries who have carried on efforts for the education of native children as well as those of the Americo-Liberians. In more recent years, the government has shown an interest in education, but has been unable to accomplish much on account of the shortage of funds. The need for a system of schools supported from public funds is universally recognized. The question of finances is the outstanding problem, as missions and Government can readily agree upon the coördination of work and the concentration of effort upon their respective institutions.

The last available report of the Secretary of Pub-

lic Instruction in Liberia gives the following school statistics:

SCHOOLS IN OPERATION WITHIN THE REPUBLIC

1925

Agencies	*Number Schools*	*Number Teachers*	*Enrollment*
Government	56	63	3,771*
M. E. Mission†	16	36	1,391
Baptist Missions	14	34	827
Episcopal Mission	45	98	1,725
A. M. E. Mission	7	14	335
Lutheran	5	21	445
Roman Catholic	6	24	669
Pentecostal	12	24	225
Private	3	8	75
TOTALS	164	322	9,493

* Figures include Liberia College.
† Reports from the Kru Coast not available at time of publication.

The Mission Boards spent in Liberia last year a sum equal to about one fourth of the entire Government expenditures for all purposes.

No special censure attaches to the Government for its failure to provide the necessary funds. The Department of Education is doing the best it can with what revenues are available. The Liberian Government has been able to balance its budget the past year, but it has done so partly at the expense of education. It is not the intention of the administration that this condition shall go long unremedied. There have been certain debts which had first claim and these have been met. As revenue increases, funds should become available for school purposes. The

expenditures of the Government during the past year on education were as follows:

PUBLIC SCHOOL BUDGET, 1926

1.	Department of Public Instruction.	
	Salary of Secretary of Public Instruction	$3,000.00
	Travel Allowances	500.00
	Contingent fund, stationery and supplies.	1,000.00
	Chief Departmental Clerk	900.00
	One clerk	300.00
	One messenger	120.00
		$5,820.00
2.	Supervision.	
	Four County Inspectors of Schools	$2,250.00
3.	Public School Appropriation.	
	School Fund	$14,850.00
	Rent on School Buildings	150.00
		$15,000.00
4.	Higher Education.	
	Appropriation to Liberia College	$10,000.00
	TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$33,070.00

The school system, however, cannot be developed without some assured income. To meet this condition, funds would probably be needed from all three sources—the national government, the county and the local community. It would seem advisable that as conditions warranted, the Government might determine upon a special education tax to be levied throughout the country for the support of schools. This would be held by the Treasury Department as a separate fund to be expended by the Department

of Public Instruction for the support of schools upon some basis to be determined by law. It would be well to grant aid to local communities in proportion to what they did for themselves.

LOCAL SUPPORT FOR SCHOOLS

This brings up the question of a local school tax to encourage the establishment and support of schools. Each municipality or school district should levy a local tax for educational purposes. This provision should apply to civilized areas as well as to the interior.

The demand for schools is becoming so keen that many of the native chiefs would undoubtedly be willing to levy a local tax or to make regular contributions for the support of a village school if encouraged to do so. The Legislature might enact a law making it optional for the chiefs and headmen in a village to vote a local tax for school purposes, but they should be given to understand that once voted it would be permanent. The tax should be collected by the Government and kept in a separate account for the exclusive support of schools in that district, and a supplement should be paid from the national school fund as a bounty to the community levying the local tax. Now that a new financial system is being introduced by the Government no difficulty should be encountered in working out the necessary procedure.

The administrative machinery necessary to supervise a public school system is already fairly well

GOVERNMENT SCHOOL AT VONJAMA, GRAND CAPE MOUNT COUNTY
Showing teacher's home and schoolhouse

OPERATING ROOM IN THE HOSPITAL, MISSION OF THE HOLY CROSS
AT MASAMBOLAHUN

School Garden, St. Paul River Industrial School
Supported by the Methodist Episcopal Church. An example of agricultural teaching through demonstration plots.

The Missionary's Home, Nana Kru Mission
Supported by the Methodist Episcopal Church. An example of a central station with effective supervision of out-stations.

provided for in the existing school code. There is a State Department of Public Instruction presided over by a secretary, who is a member of the President's Cabinet. Attached to his office there should be a number of specialists and supervisors to stimulate and coördinate the various activities of the schools throughout the country.

A few years ago, the President created an Advisory Board of Education to be associated with this department, which is composed of representatives from the various mission boards and several public spirited citizens interested in educational problems. This board, while consultative in nature, can serve as a valuable ally to the Department of Public Instruction and be the means of coördinating educational endeavor throughout the country.

LOCAL SUPERVISION

The five counties along the coast and the five commissioners' districts in the interior should constitute the local administrative units. Each of these should have a supervisor or superintendent of schools appointed by the Secretary of Public Instruction and responsible to him. Local schools should be organized in districts or communities and conducted under the administration of the County Supervisor or Superintendent of Schools. In each district an advisory committee on education, consisting of three or more qualified citizens would be useful in stimulating local interest, but under present conditions the public school system should be highly centralized

and administered through the County and State Departments of Education.

Attached to the Department of Public Instruction and responsible to the secretary would be a number of specialists to promote certain lines of educational endeavor, such as the health of school children, teacher training and primary education, agricultural instruction, home-making and similar activities. The bulk of educational work for a long time to come will be carried on in the village schools. These schools would really become the "Universities of the People."

EDUCATION AND LIFE

Around each school would center many of the activities relating to village welfare, as well as to the direct instruction of pupils. The main purpose of the village school would be to understand and interpret village life. One would like to think of schools as being dynamic centers of influence from which radiated all those activities tending to raise community standards to higher levels in ideals, health, child welfare or improved relations with their fellows.

Next in importance would be the middle schools, located in selected areas, which would be the connecting link between the village school and the high school. Pupils in these schools would fall into two groups. One would consist of those children who had sufficient ability to give reasonable prospects of being able to continue their work in the higher schools. The second group would be pupils of ad-

vanced age or suited rather for manual work, who would receive instruction in vocational training and be given direct preparation for entering life on leaving the middle school.

There should be at least one high school in each county on the coast, or each administrative district in the interior, for the training of more advanced pupils. In this high school there would be a group doing college preparatory work, with the view of going on to normal school or college, but the majority of the pupils who had reached a mature age would receive training for their vocations. "Preparation for life" should be the purpose of the high school,—though in the latter case college life would be included. The teaching of health would receive attention; there would be courses in homemaking for girls and in agriculture and handicrafts for boys.

Education should be largely organized upon a selective basis, the brighter pupils being encouraged to go on to higher institutions, while the majority of the children would be educated for the ordinary activities of community life.

Above the public schools there would be several special schools, the most important of which would be Liberia College, crowning educational achievement in the public school system. This would be a *bona-fide* college, offering professional courses, and emphasizing public service and studies in the sciences. Affiliated with Liberia College would be one or more normal schools and the mission colleges maintained by the boards of the various denominations. As funds became available the Government

might develop one or more agricultural, trade or technical schools.

Underlying all this system of administration would be a philosophy of education quite different from that which has prevailed in the past. Its main policies would be based upon a consciousness of community needs, and a genuine endeavor to meet them. This endeavor would make itself manifest in an effort to satisfy the needs of people who dwelt in the little villages as humble tillers of the soil as well as of those who have entered the more pretentious walks of life.

LIBERIA COLLEGE

Liberia College was founded in 1856, through the efforts of Dr. Simon Greenleaf and other Massachusetts people, as a non-sectarian institution of higher learning in the young colony.

It has served in the past to fulfill the demands of a state college, but lack of means has always limited it in its activities. Some of the funds at the disposal of two of the Colonization Societies are available for supplementing the revenues of the College.

Any system of national education should include plans for the development of a state institution for the training of leaders. The college has recently secured a new site on the edge of Monrovia, where it is proposed to erect new buildings to care for a college community. But the success of the plans all depends upon funds from the Legislature. The government now appropriates the sum of $10,000 an-

nually towards the maintenance of the school. It is hoped that some of the new revenues may be made available for the erection of one or more college buildings upon the new site.

The school should offer professional courses for the training of young people in government service as well as in law, medicine, commerce, education, and the sciences. If properly established, it might furnish opportunity for special lecturers and the interchange of professors from America or Europe to give lectures and short courses of a professional nature. Plans for the training of Liberians for leadership in their own country should include as many contacts with the outside world as possible. Rather than send so many young students abroad for their education, it would appear that much better results could be obtained by bringing in suitable instructors from other countries, who could give specialized instruction to students and at the same time establish contacts with local leaders in Monrovia and thereby exert a wider influence.

In developing Liberia College into a national institution, the government would demonstrate its faith in the importance of education in a national program.

CHAPTER XII

THE OUTLOOK

THE CONFLICT OF CULTURES

One may gain from reading the previous chapters some idea of the difficulties involved in the administration of government in Liberia where cultures are found more conflicting than on other parts of the West Coast. This conflict, while not necessarily violent, is nevertheless evident. It contains at least four elements. By far the most important section of the population, from the standpoint of numbers, is made up of the native people, who represent all stages of development from the most primitive pagan groups, living in the forest regions, to those natives who have adopted Mohammedanism and subsist by agriculture, handicrafts and trade.

The second section consists of the civilized natives, who live along the coast and have been influenced by Western civilization, and more especially by the Liberian emigrants from America.

The third group is represented by the civilized Liberians themselves, whose ancestors sojourned for a time in America, and who returned to their native land with different outlook and mode of life. It may be said to their credit that they have for more than

a hundred years maintained their existence in spite of overwhelming odds.

The fourth consists of Americans and Europeans, who are either in business upon the West Coast or engaged in missionary work. Their outlook is different in many ways from the three groups already mentioned, but their culture is being rapidly assimilated by many of those who have dealings with them.

All of these factors will have an immense influence upon the native African in times to come. We may expect a still wider diffusion of European standards in the future. Contacts between the two sections have already been maintained for several centuries. The proximity of the West Coast of Africa to the continent of Europe and the development of closer trade relations between the two will bring about further influences which will make themselves evident in West Africa.

Just as crude Britain was brought under the influence of the more cultured portions of Europe, first through the Roman occupation, and later through the Norman conquest, so we may expect West Africa to be influenced by the culture of western Europe, through the peaceful avenues of trade, governmental activity and education and through the assimilation of Western ideas. This will be especially true in view of the African's readiness to accept what appears to him to be the higher standards of the West. As to what is best in European culture to accept and what to reject remains to be determined.

The little Liberian republic, which is wedged in

between the British on the west and the French on the east, deserves the sympathy of the world at large, and more especially of England and America, in its endeavor to develop a civilization which is based upon an African background but which is fashioned after Western models.

CONTRIBUTION OF THE AMERICO-LIBERIANS

At present the dominant section is composed of the Americo-Liberians. They have made certain definite contributions to national life, which may be discussed under the heads of government, religion, language and standards of living which they brought from America.

The greatest contribution from America has been the ideal of self-government. This little band of people, never more than ten or fifteen thousand at any one time, have demonstrated beyond a doubt that it is possible for black people to govern themselves. Their government has not been without flaws, but it is remarkable that they have been able to maintain their existence for nearly a century as colony, commonwealth, and later as a republic. It is true they have had advice and assistance from America from time to time, but never as much assistance of the right sort as they deserved. Their schools and churches have largely been supported by Mission Boards in America and their leaders have been largely trained under this influence.

They have shaped their government after that of the United States with legislative, judicial and

executive branches and a constitution containing many of the features of the American system. Their unit of local administration is the county, of which there are five in the territory along the coast. English common law is the basis of their jurisprudence. It is interesting to find this upon the West African coast, and to trace its migration, first across the Atlantic from England to Virginia and the other Southern States, carried there by the early English colonists, and then back again to Africa whither it was carried by black people.

Their legal procedure is modeled after our own, with justices of the peace for minor cases, and circuit and supreme courts for ordinary civil and criminal cases. The decisions of their judges are generally well stated, and some of their legal opinions deserve to rank with those of America or England. Their language is always stately and dignified and their legal papers well composed. On public occasions the addresses by clergymen or orators are as well delivered as they are in the Southern States where oratory is still taken seriously.

In religion they represent the orthodox views of the Protestant bodies from which they sprang, and the Sabbath is as well observed in Monrovia and other coast settlements, and church attendance as much a religious duty, as it is in any small city in the Southern States. In their home life family prayers are continued by many of the older generation and the children go regularly to Sunday School and to young people's societies.

In their daily relations with one another their con-

duct is generally dignified and courteous. The houses of the well-to-do are comfortable, often stately, and surrounded by nice gardens and flower beds, with native servants to do the work. In their public gatherings they are generally at ease, and their official functions, which center around the life at the Executive Mansion and of other governmental departments are marked by a dignity which would do credit to similar gatherings in Europe or America.

English customs form the basis of civilized life, and the English language is the official language of the government, and also of commerce, and what is more important still, it is the language of the homes in the ruling classes along the coast. The lack of any *lingua franca* among the native tribes will probably mean that English will become the medium of communication in the next generation, at least among the educated groups, and in those villages where schools are established. This seems to be the desire of the native chiefs and is frankly the aim of the Government. The country is divided by so many dialects that there is unfortunately no one medium for instruction.

Since schools are so few, English is undoubtedly requisite as the medium of instruction. In the future, however, when village schools are established throughout the country, primary instruction will probably be given in the vernacular and the teaching of English reserved for the middle and higher schools. The selection of one or two vernaculars common to a wide area can then be made. Be-

fore this comes about, however, certain books, especially those of a religious nature, or which deal with health and child welfare and similar subjects may be printed in the local vernaculars. With the exception of Vai none of these have been reduced to writing by the native peoples.

CONTRIBUTION OF THE NATIVE GROUP

Coming now to a consideration of the contribution which the native group may make towards national life we find that the peoples inhabiting the present territory of Liberia are very superior, compared with those in some other parts of Africa. Reference to the preceding chapters on native life will show that the people have already produced a social system which is suited in the main to their present stage of development. When this group is absorbed into the national life and becomes a dominant factor in the next generation the presence of a great many strong points upon which to build a nation will emerge.

The native peoples have already demonstrated their capability for self-government under the leadership of their own chiefs. They bring with them a tradition for work. While work has been of an intermittent character, especially on the part of the men, it has served to satisfy their present needs. Employers of labor along the coast, as well as those who have had dealings with the people in the interior, are unanimous in their testimony of the high type of workmen which the native Liberians make.

They have a capacity for craftsmanship and would readily acquire skill in all ordinary trades. They already subsist by their primitive form of agriculture and with proper development in production and assistance through marketing facilities, there is no reason why the hinterland should not become a prosperous section of the country.

Nor should we overlook their mental achievements, their wealth of folklore, their development of native music and art, all of which demonstrate the intellectual capacity of the people.

The deep religious feeling of the African is known both in his native land and in America, and this constitutes a base upon which to build in the future. The native's religion, of course, is given over to belief in charms, the power of witchcraft and of the medicine man. Through Christian teaching a great many of his faults can be eliminated, as he is very responsive to a higher type of religion.

GOVERNMENT

National elections take place every four years. Government along the coast is based upon the democratic principle of manhood suffrage, the main qualification being the payment of a poll tax. In the last two decades the policy has been to extend the franchise to many of the native people living in neighboring villages who know little about the purpose of the ballot or the meaning of party government. While native groups should be given some voice in government, the average peasant living in

a small village is certainly not qualified to vote intelligently. There is a danger from this, too, in that native chiefs might be able to unite and take control of government away from the civilized element if too great an extension of the franchise is permitted. In such a case, national chaos might result. The present leaders are fully aware of these dangers and are already discussing plans whereby some representation can be given native groups, but the franchise so limited as to prevent control of national affairs passing from the coast people to those of the interior. This is desirable for a generation at least. There seems to be a frank desire on the part of many Liberians to give the native people a reasonable share in responsible government.

In local government the Liberians have modeled their system after the United States, and in interior administration, after that employed by Great Britain in governing indigenous populations in neighboring colonies. At the present time the native areas are administered through District Commissioners appointed by the President but working under the jurisdiction of the Secretary for the Interior.

There are five administrative districts in the hinterland, corresponding approximately to the five counties along the coast. In more recent years very little trouble has been encountered in keeping order among the native tribes. The last serious outbreak occurred in 1920, but at present native chiefs have accepted the authority of the Liberian Government and are coöperating in many ways with it.

The Liberian Frontier Force, which numbers about 600 soldiers, is under the guidance of American army officers loaned to the Liberian Government and is maintained in small detachments throughout the interior, chiefly along the boundaries. The support of this force requires about $125,000 per annum.

The chapter dealing with the social organization of the population shows how admirably ordered are all the relations of native life under the authority of the village heads and paramount chiefs so that there is little occasion to appeal to force.

NEEDS

The greatest need at the present time is for leadership of the right sort. Schools have been limited and opportunities meager for the training of young men in the higher branches of college work for government service. Those in control deserve a great deal of credit for what education they have been able to acquire through the process of self-culture. The government has suffered in all its branches through lack of a trained personnel. Liberians are quick to acknowledge this and their leaders are frank to tell one about their faults. Africans probably talk more frankly to one another, and to other people in whom they have confidence, than do any other race in the world.

One of the most hopeful factors is the eagerness with which young men, as well as older leaders in church and state, express their desire to better their national condition. Democracy has its shortcom-

ings but its strength lies in the fact that the individual appreciates his own personality. Nevertheless, the Liberian is quick to recognize worth anywhere it is found, and those who are esteemed as learned or as wealthy are held in great respect.

Those who are educated have been in such small numbers that the country has never been able to divide into two permanent political parties. It is really governed by a small group who possess the ability and the political sagacity to hold together. What might happen if there were a large body of educated persons who desired leadership can only be surmised. One weakness in African life has been the tendency to divide into clans in which small groups are arrayed one against the other. In Liberia, however, the danger of submersion by the large native population, or by powerful outside forces has caused the educated group to work together. This has been fortunate in that it has made them dependent upon a few strong men for leadership.

As in the United States, county government is the most inefficient branch of public administration, due to lack of personnel as well as lack of funds. Governmental reform is needed all along the line, but until public revenues are available with which to pay reasonable salaries, and education so far developed as to supply a body of capable leaders, one should not be too critical of what has happened in the past. The judiciary is probably in the greatest need of trained personnel, especially in the lower courts.

One might sum up the situation from the standpoint of government by saying there is need for de-

veloping a type of official who is trained in the administration of public affairs, and who is guided by the highest ideals of public service. There has been a great desire to hold public office, and this in spite of low salaries paid. There should be developed a group of public officials with an esprit-de-corps free from self-seeking, and imbued with the best traditions for the public welfare. Since those who would be capable of filling office are few in number, an effort should be made to develop a group of leaders with something of the same ideals of public service as are held by the British colonial servants.

The second great need of Liberia, after leadership, is for popular education. Since this has already been discussed in previous chapters in relation to health, homemaking, agricultural and religious training, it is unnecessary to go into further details. But a country founded upon the ideal of self-government must depend upon a wide diffusion of knowledge if it is to succeed. Instruction in civics and patriotism would be especially important.

The third great need is for economic development. The improvement in the administration of government, the development of a public school system and the undertaking of measures for health and other welfare projects, depend upon wealth, and unless the people are producing the means with which to furnish revenues it is impossible to expect any general program to be successfully undertaken by the Government. Even improvement in public morals, as well as in morale, is dependent upon a reasonable standard of living.

The Honorable Charles D. B. King, President of Liberia

A Paramount Chief Near Ganta

A few years ago this country was in insurrection against the Government, but the chiefs now carry the Liberian flag as a symbol of their authority.

The country is awaiting development by responsible business enterprises. The interior is practically untouched. There is danger probably in granting too many large concessions, as this would tend to alienate too much of the public domain. But there is need for encouragement of ordinary business enterprises. And once having invested their money, companies should be made to feel secure by receiving fair treatment and protection from annoying exactions which would tend to make the cost of doing business in the country excessive. Commercial concerns are apparently anxious to enter Liberia for purposes of trade and development, and this will result in advantages to both sides if based upon mutual faith and goodwill.

The advent of such a firm as the Firestone Rubber Company augurs well for the country, for it shows faith in a native government, a large corporation having been led to invest millions of dollars in a business enterprise depending for its success upon the stability and sympathy of that government.

In Chapter IV, dealing with economic development, something has already been said about the duties and obligations of the Rubber Company in its relation to the Government and the general welfare of the country. The duties of the Government in relation to all such business enterprises should also be recognized. So far, there is no doubt but that this interdependence of one upon the other is appreciated by the present administration as well as by the officials of the Company. Permanent friendly relations will have to be maintained which will call

for mutual adjustments from time to time as occasion may arise.

RACE RELATIONS

Liberia's development can be greatly facilitated by attracting to it a superior type of European or American who comes out for special business or general commercial enterprises. Friendship with the outside world will be one of the chief assets of the country. Everything should be done therefore to make the place attractive for people with professional training.

With the general commercial development which is taking place on the West Coast, the old days of isolation are past. Monrovia, the chief city, should be made not only a sanitary place, but an attractive place in which to live. It is beautifully situated on an elevated peninsula surrounded by sea and river on three sides. With little expense effective sanitary arrangements can be installed.

Those organizations which are interested in the country should devote some of their attention in the future to the general welfare of the young Americans and Europeans who come out to work for various commercial concerns. Not only is religious fellowship desirable but facilities for wholesome recreation should be provided. Many of the employees of commercial firms have to live in isolated communities for weeks at a time, surrounded by many demoralizing influences of "bush life" and with little contact with the outside world, except when an occasional steamer calls in port, or when they visit

the chief towns on business. A circulating library would probably afford one means for keeping up contacts, and a club house and some social work would prove valuable assets in Monrovia and Cape Palmas.

The race problem in Liberia has not hitherto been acute. It has been recognized as the one place where black people governed themselves. The right of citizenship and the right to own property is limited to people of African descent. This provision is justifiable and there is no criticism of it from American and European residents.

As time goes on there will be a larger influx of white people in business or trade. At present the class of European and American who enter the country is very good. There are no irresponsible whites living in Liberia. Those who are there are well educated, and cognizant of the purpose for which the colony was established. Race relations have been singularly free from friction. In the future it is hoped that the same friendly spirit may continue to manifest itself as it has in the past. Should occasion arise the establishment of an interracial committee, as is found in many parts of America and South Africa, would furnish an excellent means for preventing misunderstandings and promoting mutual goodwill.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

From the standpoint of international affairs, Liberia's outlook was never better than it is to-day.

She has always shown a desire to meet her responsibilities and as soon as funds became available paid up her obligations to the United States and to other groups. President King's recent visit to Europe has demonstrated the goodwill which the world holds for Liberia. He was cordially received in many of the European capitals by the reigning sovereigns and heads of government, and by the Pope. This shows that the world is willing to recognize the standing of Liberia in the family of nations.

She is beginning to receive due consideration in the determining of West Coast policies by European nations and will be consulted more and more in the future.

From the commercial standpoint Liberia's proximity to European and American markets gives possibilities for greater development of natural resources.

When the rubber concession was first announced some apprehension was felt that the entrance of such large capital into the country would interfere with freedom of action from the standpoint of government. However, such fears do not seem to be justified. The Company has very wisely expressed its desire to keep itself aloof from any interference in domestic politics. Its advent has reacted favorably on Liberia's behalf. It has called the attention of the world to the economic possibilities latent in the country. The Company's policy in welfare work and employment of labor is bound to react favorably upon other business groups in Liberia.

Its mistakes as well as its successes will serve as an example to all. In its relation to America, the advent of this Company should stimulate greater interest in the little republic, calling the attention of American people again to the colony which was founded under American influence.

AMERICAN COÖPERATION

Liberia deserves a greater share of moral, political, and financial support from America. In times past it has received an uncertain amount of support, owing to the vicissitudes of American politics. While never officially connected with the American Government in a political way, it was founded through the official aid of President Monroe, who chartered the ship which brought over the first colonists. The permanent attitude of the United States towards Liberia should be one of friendly coöperation. No protectorate is needed, nor should there be any political union. As occasion may demand, America might lend, either officially or unofficially, advisers to the Liberian Republic to assist it in the solution of some of its more important domestic problems. This has already been accomplished in the matter of reorganizing its Frontier Force, and of its financial administration. The same is being done in an unofficial way in education and should be extended to include public health. For the latter there is a need not only for hospitals, but for a public health service which would provide for the em-

ployment of visiting nurses, the teaching of health in the schools and the enforcement of sanitary regulations in the villages.

Great assistance could be rendered in the field of education. Philanthropic and religious groups should center their efforts upon the development of one or more colleges where liberal courses can be given to train young men and women for the responsible duties of leadership in guiding the destinies of the little republic. The other field of education lies in the development of a system of public schools for the training of the masses, in which community needs received a large share of attention.

If Liberia is to be saved it must be saved through its own efforts and through its own leaders. At best America can only contribute friendly advice and help. The assistance needed, however, is not blind philanthropy but should be so designed as to enable Liberians to help themselves. No assistance should be given which would tend to make the people dependent upon outside aid. But there are certain general methods and agencies which have already been demonstrated in America to be of inestimable value to both white and colored people in the building of a commonwealth. Such projects as home and farm demonstration work, the development of a public school system based upon rural needs, public health measures and general welfare programs, are all applicable to Africa as well as to America.

Liberia holds out the hope that Africans can govern themselves along lines generally accepted by Western nations as the proper basis for government.

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

This does not mean a blind imitation of Western standards. The roots of local life should be set deep in African culture and background, but growth should be forward rather than towards the past. The fact that there are twelve millions of people of African descent living in America should make that country cognizant of the needs of the great continent and especially of this little republic upon the West Coast. While extensive immigration from the United States is not to be expected in the future, American Negroes with proper training and the desire to serve could contribute a great deal to the welfare of their own brothers in Liberia.

But in the last resort, it is not to America and not to Europe that Liberia must look for her salvation, but to herself. She has had a century of disciplining and has profited by it in many ways. If she is not unmindful of the lessons which have sometimes been brought home to her with disastrous consequences, there is no reason why she should not become a model which will serve as an inspiration to the millions of black people in Africa, and the fulfillment of the hopes which prompted the founders to send out the little colony from America.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL ANTHEM

All hail, Liberia, hail!
This glorious land of Liberty
Shall long be ours.
Tho' new her name,
Green be her fame,
And mighty be her powers.
In joy and gladness, with our hearts united,
We'll shout the freedom of a race benighted.
Long live Liberia, happy land.
A home of glorious liberty by God's command.

All hail, Liberia, hail!
In union strong, success is sure.
We cannot fail.
With God above,
Our rights to prove,
We will the world assail.
With heart and hand our country's cause defending
We meet the foe, with valor unpretending.
Long live Liberia, happy land,
A home of glorious liberty by God's command.

LIBERIAN OFFICIALS

Agents and Governors

Eli Ayres *	1822
Frederick James	1822
Elijah Johnson	1822
Jehudi Ashmun *	1822

* Indicates white men.

Lott Carey	1828
Richard Randall *	1828
William Mechlin *	1829
John B. Pinney *	1834
Ezekiel Skinner *	1835
A. D. Williams	1836
Thomas Buchanan *	1839
Joseph J. Roberts	1841

Governors of Maryland

James Hall *	1834
J. B. Russwurm	1836
S. F. McGill	1851
William A. Prout	1854
B. J. Drayton	1856

Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Republic

Joseph J. Roberts, Monrovia	1848	Nathaniel Brandes A. D. Williams Stephen A. Benson
Stephen A. Benson, Buchanan	1856	Benjamin Y. Yates Daniel B. Warner
Daniel B. Warner, Monrovia	1864	James Priest
James S. Payne, Monrovia	1868	Joseph Gibson
Edward J. Roye, Monrovia	1870	James S. Smith
Joseph J. Roberts, Monrovia	1872	Anthony W. Gardner
Anthony W. Gardner, Monrovia	1878	
(Alfred F. Russell)	1883	Alfred F. Russell
Hilary Richard Wright Johnson, Monrovia	1884	James Thompson
Joseph J. Cheeseman, Edina	1892	William D. Coleman
William D. Coleman, Clay-Ashland	1896	Joseph J. Ross

* Indicates white men.

Garretson W. Gibson, Monrovia	1902	Joseph Summerville
Arthur Barclay, Monrovia	1904	Joseph Summerville
.....	1908	James J. Dossen
Daniel E. Howard, Monrovia	1912	Samuel G. Harmon
C. D. B. King, Monrovia	1920	Samuel Ross
.....	1924	Too Wesley
.....	1928	Allen Yancey

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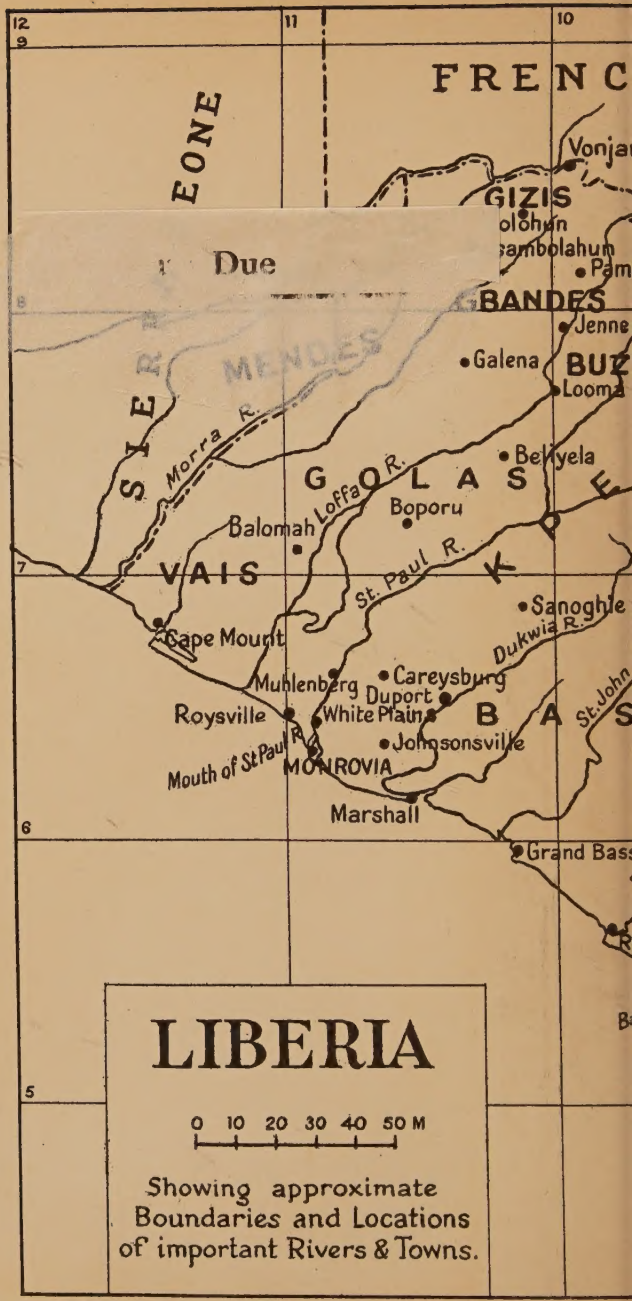
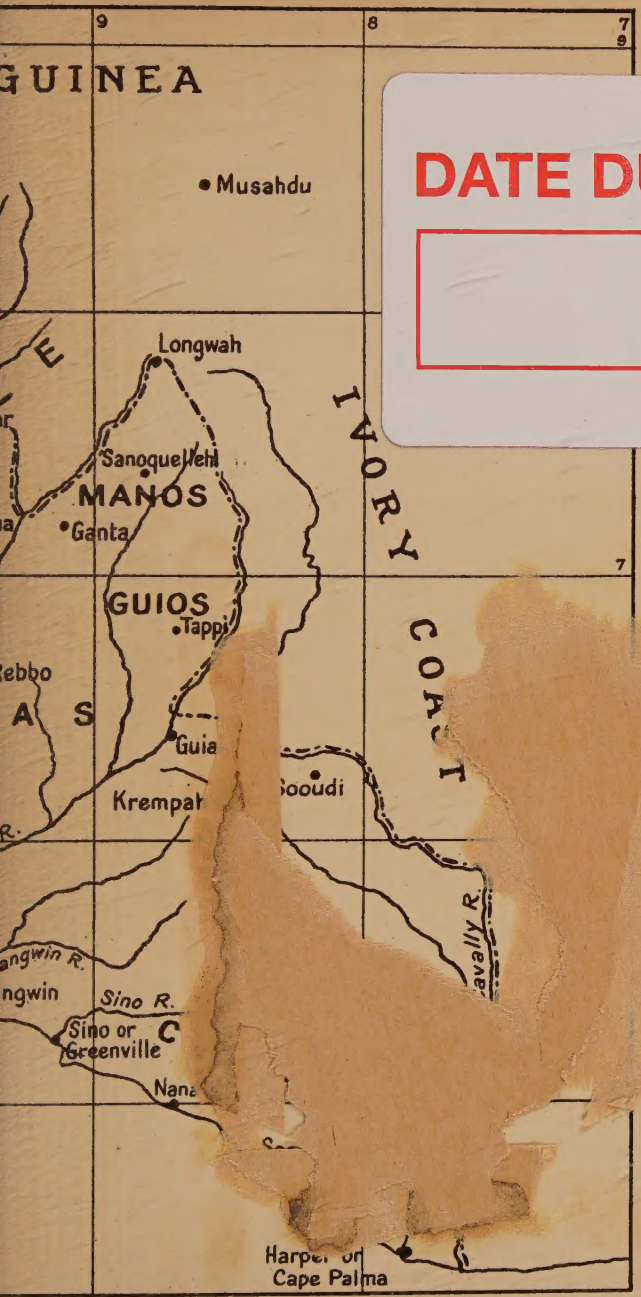


LIBERIA
0 10 20 30 40 50 M
Showing approximate Boundaries and Locations of important Rivers & Towns.
FRENC
EONE
Vonja
GIZIS
olohun
sambolahun
Pam
BANDES
Jenne
Galena
BUZ
Looma
Beliyela
Morra R.
Loffa R.
Boporu
Balomah
VAIS
St. Paul R.
Sanoghle
Dukwia R.
Cape Mount
Muhlenberg
Careysburg
Duport
Roysville
White Plains
Johnsonsville
Mouth of St Paul R.
MONROVIA
Marshall
Grand Bass
St. John
Due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GUINEA
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Longwah
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Guia
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